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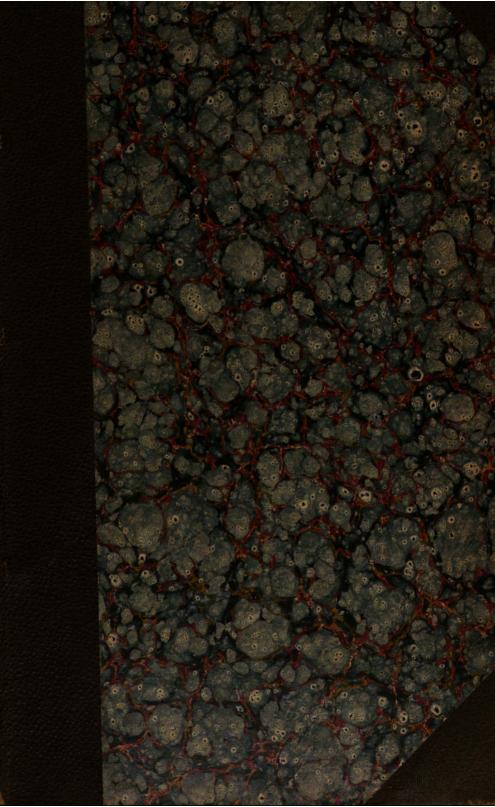
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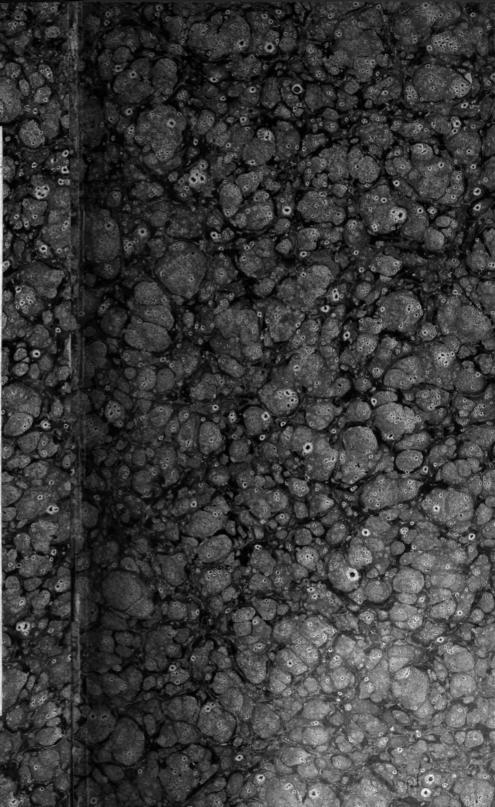
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CHRISTS EXALTATION IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

HEB. II. 9.

This is undoubtedly a very difficult passage. The difficulty does not lie, as some seem to think, in the obscurity that rests over its grammatical construction; it resides purely in the Two different modes of punctuation have been proposed, each of which is supposed to involve a different meaning. Some read thus: We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour. In this case the suffering of death is made the final cause of the incarnation, and Christ is said to have become human instead of angelic in order that He might be able to die. Others, again, read thus: We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, on account of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour. this case the suffering of death is said to be the cause of Christ's resurrection, and He is declared to have received a crown of glory because He was able to endure a crown of thorns.

We do not ourselves accept either of these readings; we agree with the latter form of punctuation, but we object to the fact that it has not rested in a change of punctuation. The word translated "for" in our authorized version has been



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made to undergo a complete change of meaning. In the first instance it explained a purpose; Christ was made less than the angels with a view to or for the sake of the suffering Here it no longer expresses a purpose, but points of death. out an instrumentality or agency; Christ receives a crown of glory on account of or by reason of the magnanimity He displayed in the suffering of death. We intend in the present paper to advance a view of this passage which will preserve the first meaning of the word "for" with the second form of punctuation—a view which, so far as we know, has not hitherto been suggested. There is one point to which at the outset we shall do well to direct our attention, a point which seems to us to constitute the centre of the whole discussion. The central question of this passage is not the disputed position of its opening clauses, but the meaning to be assigned to its closing statement. It appears to us that the key to the exegesis of the passage lies solely in the solution of the question, What was that crown of glory and honour which Christ is here said to have received? Now, strange to say, this is the only point in the passage on which there has never been any controversy, the only question which has never presented itself as a difficulty at all. It seems to have been universally assumed that the crown of glory and honour of which the writer speaks could have been nothing else than Christ's resurrection. But how then are we to explain the statement: "We see Jesus crowned with glory and honour that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man." In what sense can it be said that the glory and honour conferred on the Son of man by the resurrection were a preparation for the efficacy of His death? We are aware that the common theological answer is not far to seek. are told that the resurrection of Christ was that which gave efficacy to His atonement, put as it were God's imprimatur upon His work, and declared it to be accepted and sealed. Now we have no doubt whatever that in the system of the

New Testament the resurrection of Christ does occupy this apologetic position; it is this very thought which St. Paul has in view when he says. "He was delivered for our offences and raised for our justification." Yet it does not seem to us that this is the thought which the writer to the Hebrews had in view. He is not speaking of an imprimatur on the death of Christ: he is speaking of the death of Christ itself. attention is entirely concentrated on the personal experience of the Son of man in the act of dying. This is made clear by the use of the phrase "taste death," a reference being manifestly intended to the natural bitterness with which such an experience would be fraught to such a sufferer. writer to the Hebrews is speaking of Christ's actual experience of death, what meaning are we to attach to his statement? how can it be said that Christ was raised from the dead in order that He might taste death for every man? It is quite clear that such a statement is absolutely without meaning. The question then naturally arises, Have we been right in hitherto taking it for granted that the crown of glory and honour of which the writer speaks is intended by him as a synonym for Christ's resurrection? Have we any evidence that he had in his mind the idea of the resurrection at all? For our part. we are convinced that when the writer to the Hebrews described Christ as being crowned with glory and honour in order that He might taste death, he intended his words to have the only meaning which they could grammatically or reasonably bear; he designed to convey the idea that the Son of man before tasting of death, and in order to make His experience of death a redemptive offering, required to receive a crown of glory. Whatever that crown was, it could not have been resurrection.

The question now is, Is there any other crown which Christ can be said to have borne before the cross? The idea of resurrection being excluded, is there any remaining sense in which the Son of man may be said to have been crowned

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with glory and honour? and if so, will that sense harmonize with the statement that He was "crowned with glory and honour that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man"? If we shall find such a crown in the experience of the Son of man, if we shall reach a sense in which His glory preceded His humiliation, we shall then have solved the meaning not only of the later but of the earlier clause; nay, the one phrase shall be found to be the exact parallel of the other. When we shall reach an historical meaning in the statement that Christ was exalted that He might taste the cup for all, we shall have no alternative but to render the earlier clauses thus: We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honour with a view to the suffering of death.

We proceed now to show that there was a crown of glory and honour, which not only preceded the death of the Son of man, but which was necessary to give that death its efficacy. We propose to establish this point by a process of consecutive argument. We shall ask attention to these three successive propositions. First, what prevented the sacrifices of the old dispensation from being redemptive sacrifices was a deficiency in the previous state of the victim; it was not crowned for sacrifice. Second, there was one thing, and only one, which could have conferred this crown, in other words, which could have made the victim ripe for sacrifice. And thirdly, this one element, whose absence vitiated the whole Jewish sacrifice, is found in the sacrifice of the Son of man. Let us advert to each of these.

First, at the time when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, there was a very general feeling throughout the Jewish world that the sacrifices of the old dispensation had lost their power, or, to speak more strictly, had revealed their deficiency in that power which had been once attributed to them. Even amongst the followers of Judaism itself, it was manifest that the sacrificial worship had lost the fervour of its

first glow. Already within the Jewish polity had there begun to appear the craving for a deeper morality, a morality which should express less of the ceremonial and more of the human. so that the writer to the Hebrews only indicated the spirit of the time when he declared that the old system was ready to vanish away. But it was amongst the disciples of the Christian Founder that the defectiveness of the ancient system of sacrifice was felt most powerfully, and nowhere has the feeling been more powerfully expressed than in the substance of this epistle. Its whole design is to exhibit the inadequacy of Judaism to the accomplishment of its own purposes, its powerlessness to work out that idea, the working Now, if we turn to Heb. ix. out of which was its mission. 9-14, we shall find a statement not only of the inadequacy of the Jewish sacrifices, but of the reason why, in the view of this writer, these sacrifices were inadequate. He looked upon them as defective not by reason of any physical imperfection, not because they were deficient in material costliness, nor because they failed to elicit a sufficient amount of bodily Their inadequacy, in his view, lay in the fact that they could not render a man "perfect as pertaining to the conscience." The idea here is very remarkable from a Jewish The sacrifices are said to be defective, because point of view. they do not extend beyond the idea of pain. The animal is. simply a sufferer and nothing more. It has been made to undergo a certain amount of physical torture, but it has no conception of that for which it is tortured. It is the absence of this conception which constitutes the real defect in the The defect does not lie in the act of sacrifice, nor offering. does it consist in the condition of the victim at the time of sacrifice; its whole deficiency centres in the state of the victim before sacrifice. The sacrifice fails to be an effective offering, from the simple fact that the victim has not been prepared for it, has not been crowned for it. It has not come to the scene of oblation by an act of its own will; it has

come mechanically, and in ignorance of what it is doing. The first intimation it receives of its sacrificial destiny is the infliction of the physical pain. So far therefore as the victim is concerned, there is an utter absence of the idea of self-sacrifice; the victim is a victim, it is purely passive, and has had no part in the surrender of its own life. It has not performed an act of devotion, it has not discharged a rite of worship, it has not expressed any sense of submission to the will of God, because its life previous to the hour of sacrifice has been a life in no sense connected with the idea of sacrifice; it has not been crowned for its destiny.

Here, then, is the first great principle which the writer to the Hebrews has in view — the necessity that the life of the offering should undergo a process of previous preparation, in other words, should be crowned for the tasting of death. This leads us, secondly, to inquire what is the nature of that preparation or preliminary crown which the offering must receive, with a view to perfect its sacrifice. We have seen that the mere endurance of pain is not sufficient to constitute a sacrificial act; the pain must in some sense be accepted by him that bears it. Death in itself is not beautiful, and cannot confer a crown. But death may receive a crown from the spirit in which it is endured; it may be made beautiful by the beauty of its victim. In order to confer such a crown on death, the sufferer must himself have been crowned before death, must have passed through a process of such ripening and development that he has been able to meet death unmoved. What, then, is this process whereby the sacrifice of death may be made a glorious sacrifice? Two methods have been proposed by which life may be crowned for death. The first is that of Stoicism. The process of preparation which it recommends is the abstraction of the individual from the joys of existence. tells man that the best way to transform the sacrifice of death into an act of glory is to wean the heart beforehand from the

pleasures of life, to root out the affections, to restrain the emotions, to dwarf the feelings. In this way it proposes virtually to destroy the human soul before the coming of the destroyer, and so to deaden the life of man, that when death itself appears it shall find nothing left to conquer. We need not say that this crown proposed by Stoicism is not a crown of glory and honour. That it opens up some prospect of meeting death with heroism we admit; that it has proved its power in history it would be folly to deny. the species of heroism which it reveals is only of a negative The most which it professes to do is to enable a human being to meet death without fear. However advantageous this may be, it does not reach the standard of a crown of glory. To be crowned for death is not simply to be freed from the fear of death. The absence of fear is only negative, but a crown is something of a positive value. To be crowned for death is to pass through a process not merely of resignation but of acquiescence. It is to accept death, to choose death, to make death in some sense an aim and object of life, and to use it as a road to that destiny which life has given us to achieve. The method of Stoicism cannot attain to this crown.

There is, however, a second method by which it is conceivable that a life may be crowned for death. If it were revealed to a human being that his individual loss would bring universal gain, and if in obedience to that revelation he proceeded to sacrifice himself for this gain, he could then in the highest sense be said to have been crowned for death. His crown would be the spirit of unselfishness. The bearing of his sacrifice would be the result not of a stolid submission to a fate which he could not avert nor yet merely of a passive resignation to the mandate of a supreme will, but of an active co-operation with a law of universal love. His crown, in fact, would be his sinlessness, his freedom from all thought of self, through his participation in a divine principle of universal

love, which made his interest identical with the good of all mankind. To such a being death would have no sting, and the grave no victory. The sting would be extracted by the spirit of universal love, by which the act of suffering would already be transformed into an act of choice. The victim would be transmuted into the offerer; he would be crowned for death.

This brings us to the third step of the argument. In the history of this world there has appeared one being who has perfectly and fully satisfied this demand for an offering crowned for sacrifice. The writer to the Hebrews points to the life of the Son of man as that which supplies the element which is wanting to the Jewish sacrifice; he finds in Him a being who is not only subject to death, but who has been crowned for death. The crown consists in a previous life of sinlessness, in other words, in an utter absence of all thought It consists in the fact that instead of merely submitting to death with a stolid resignation, He has voluntarily accepted death as a source of universal good. previous to the act of death surrendered His own individual will, and made it one with the will of the universe. death is therefore beautiful, not by reason of its physical painfulness, but by reason of that antecedent love, that unselfish joy set before Him, whereby He was able to endure the cross and to despise the shame. This thought is clearly brought out in the antithesis of Heb. ix. 13, 14, "For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works." The crown which gave Christ's sacrifice a superiority over the Jewish sacrifices is here said to have been the previous state of His nature; He is declared to have offered Himself to God "without spot through the eternal Spirit." The crown of the offering is

made to consist in its spotlessness, its spotlessness is made to consist in the agency of that divine life which animated The glory did not come with death; the glory was given to death by the sinless and unselfish motive for which death was sought and borne. And when we turn to that passage of this epistle which is the present subject of our study, we shall find that it is in the strictest harmony with the whole cast of the writer's mind. Here, too, his leading thought is the superiority of the Christian to the Jewish dispensation; here, too, the general ground of that superiority is the existence of a sacrificial spirit before the act of sacrifice, the giving up of the will previous to the surrender of the life. If we read Heb. ii. 9 in the light of Heb. ix. 14, we shall find that all contradiction and all "We see Jesus, for the suffering of paradox shall vanish. death crowned with glory and honour that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man." Is it not clear that in the mind of this writer the crown of glory and honour which our Lord received before death is identical with that divine grace which enabled Him to taste death for every man? He means to say that by the grace of God, that is, by the goodness of God in Him, the Son of man was empowered to accept death as an universal sacrifice, to give up His own individual will to the all-embracing will of the Father, to lose Himself for the salvation of mankind. divine grace within Him, this power to merge the individual in the universal, this willingness to die that all might live, is regarded by the writer to the Hebrews as Christ's brightest It was this which to his view made Christ's death regal, glorious, honourable; it was this which gave it its moral efficacy as an atoning work for man. His death was the product of His love, and His love was the product of that divine Spirit by which He offered Himself to the Father; He by the grace of God, by the goodness of God within Him, was able to taste death for every man.

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This crown, as we have seen, was of necessity a possession of Christ before death. It was a crown the right to which could only have been won by the life of Jesus. Where, then, was that crown won? At what period of Christ's earthly life did He manifest that power of self-surrender which made Him ripe for the sacrifice of death. In one sense the whole life of Christ was such a preparation, but there were two special periods in which it may be said to have completed the stages of its conquest over the world; the first was on the mountain of temptation, the second was in the garden of Gethsemane. On each of these occasions the Son of man manifested the power of His will to resist the power of the world, but in each case it was a different manifestation. one scene was by no means a repetition of the other. The mount of temptation was the Son of man's struggle with the presentation of worldly motives; the garden of Gethsemane was the Son of man's struggle with the presentation of worldly trials. In the one case he had to contend with the world in its attempts to seduce Him from the destined path of life, in the other case He had to contend with the world in its efforts to crush Him in His path. In both cases, however, the result was the same—Christ's conquest over the world. In both cases there was achieved one common result—the surrender of the finite to the universal will. The triumph on the mount of temptation was the choice of the kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the world and their glory; the triumph of the garden of Gethsemane was the determination to maintain that choice in spite of the clouds that obscured the sky, and the pressure that weighed upon the soul. When He had passed through these stages He could in a sense already say, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do," for the conquest won by His life had crowned Him for the act of death.

We arrive then at this conclusion. The writer to the Hebrews assigns to Christ one of the many crowns which St.

John in the Apocalypse declares to be His due, but one distinctively different from all the crowns which we habitually ascribe to Him. We assign to Him with justice a crown of resurrection to mark His conquest over death, a crown of ascension to indicate His kinghood over earthly laws, a crown of spiritual headship to imply His dominion over the Church militant, and a crown of final judgment to express the consummation of His kingdom. But the crown which is here given Him is earlier than any of these, earlier even than that crown of thorns which is the symbol of His power to bear the frailties of humanity. It is the crown of sinlessness, of purity, of absolute self-forgetfulness, that impelling power of love which, just because it exists before all circumstances, is able to mould all circumstances into harmony with itself. The coronation of the Son of man in this epistle is that coronation of the heart which makes the offering up of the heart a worthy and acceptable sacrifice; it is that grace of God in Him which impels Him to accept death for the good of every man.

G. MATHESON.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

The volume published by the anonymous author of *Philochristus*, under the title of *Onesimus*, presents the story which is the groundwork of the *Epistle to Philemon* in so vivid and fascinating a form, that any writer less gifted in the art of historical romance, however addicted he may be to the construction of an "ideal biography," may well hesitate to challenge comparison by attempting to follow in his footsteps. Bishop Lightfoot's treatment of the Epistle in his *Commentary*, in like manner, deters one from any full or systematic exegesis. I shall content myself accordingly with a brief outline of the circumstances which gave occasion to the Epistle, with an analysis of its contents, and with some suggestions as to the light which it throws on St. Paul's character, and on the evidential and ethical lessons which may be learnt from it.

We have then to bring before our thoughts the picture of St. Paul's life at Rome during the two years' sojourn in his hired house, in custody, a prisoner so far though not in prison, of which the closing verses of the Acts of the Apostles tell us. Friends and visitors were allowed free access to him. the churches which he had founded heard of his being at Rome, it was natural that they should send messengers with their gifts, their offers of personal help, their affectionate Such as these were Epaphroditus remembrances. Philippi, Epaphras from Colossæ, Onesiphorus and Tychicus from Ephesus. It was a time when, apart from the danger which might attach to their position as Christians, a visit to the imperial city was not without its special dangers. was a serious epidemic which affected all classes of the community. The Emperor himself was so ill that sacrifices were offered in all the temples for his recovery (Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, b. iv. c. 44). It may be inferred from Phil. ii. 25-27, that Epaphroditus nearly fell a victim to the disease. The language of 2 Tim. ii. 16-18 makes it all but certain that Onesiphorus actually died of it, and that the prayer that he might "find mercy of the Lord in that day" was offered for one who was no longer in the body, and whose loyal service was thus lovingly remembered. We may well believe that the special mention of Luke as "the beloved physician" in Col. iv. 14, was not unconnected with the ministrations which he had come from Philippi, journeying, it may be, specially for that purpose, to render to his master and his friends.

It was under such circumstances as these that an unlookedfor visitor would seem to have made his way to the apostle's quarters. We may picture him as in early manhood. looks outwardly in evil case. His clothes are worn and travelstained. His face is that of one weary and alarmed, oppressed alike by the consciousness of guilt and by the fear of punish-The apostle, with those dim eyes of his, can at first hardly recognise the features. He asks his name, and the lips of the visitor utter the word "Onesimus." That name. like most of those already given as belonging to the apostle's visitors, was common among the slave and freed-men class. Its significance as meaning "useful," "profitable," might well commend it as a nomen et omen to a father in that class. is found once and again on monumental tablets now in the museums and galleries of Rome.

When the name was thus given, the memory of the apostle recalled the circumstances under which he and the stranger had met before. During his three years' stay at Ephesus he had come across a trader from Colossæ, who carried on in that city the business of a cloth-weaver and a dyer, for which the three cities of the valley of the Lycus—Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ itself—were all alike famous, and who had come to the city of Artemis, probably during the month of May, which was sacred to the goddess, to seek a market for

his goods. The work of making up the bales of cloth into curtains, hangings, and the like, was one which fell in with St. Paul's calling as a tent-maker, and, as Aquila and Priscilla had left Ephesus to return to Rome (Rom. xvi. 3), he was glad to be able to carry out his rule of maintaining himself by the labour of his own hands, by entering into partnership with one in whose character there was much to esteem and love (Philem. ver. 17). When they first became acquainted with each other, Philemon was as one of those not far from the kingdom of God, a Gentile who, like the centurion at Capernaum and Cornelius at Cæsarea, had come to be a worshipper of the God of Israel, and to share the hope of the children of Abraham in the manifestation of His kingdom. To him the apostle had pointed out the more excellent way of faith in Christ crucified, risen, ascended, as the Head of that kingdom; and he was accordingly baptized with his wife Apphia (the name, like Priscilla, suggests Latin associations) and his son Archippus. The master of a warehouse, well-todo and benevolent, with many slaves and hired labourers working under him, was naturally an important personage. His employés themselves were a congregation. His house became the meeting-place of an ecclesia, which included friends and neighbours as well. St. Paul was a frequent guest there, spoke as a teacher, and took part in the Eucharistic meal on the first day of the week. As elsewhere (Gal. iv. 14, 15), he gained the affection and goodwill even of those who were as yet outside the faith. The very slaves learnt to love one who never lost his temper, never gave a harsh command, who found in all men, as such, that which was a ground of brotherhood. They would run errands for him, wait upon his wants, nurse him when he was ill.

The partnership was, however, interrupted by St. Paul's plans for his work as an apostle. He left Ephesus, and if he contemplated any return to it at all, it was not likely to be till after the lapse of some years. Then came the journeys to Macedonia, and Achaia, and Jerusalem, the two years'

imprisonment at Cæsarea, the voyage to Italy, the shipwreck at Melita, the two years' residence at Rome.

And now the apostle had at last heard some tidings of his Epaphras had come from the Church of former friends. Colossæ, and had reported well of its general progress and of the work that had been done there. Their "faith in the Lord Jesus, and their love to all the saints," had been manifested in act. The word of the truth of the gospel had brought forth its good fruit there as elsewhere (Col. i. 4-6). If there was the risk of error from Judaizing or Essene teachers, the observance of new moons and Sabbaths, the worshipping of angels, the tendency to an undue asceticism that was likely to overshoot its mark and land men in the opposite extreme of sensual licence (Col. ii. 16-23), there was still good ground for the hope and the prayer that they might be "filled with the knowledge of the Divine will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding" (Col. i. 9).

And conspicuous among those who were thus as lights shining in the world was, as St. Paul must have heard with supreme satisfaction, the family of Philemon. There was still a church in his house. He showed his love and faith to the Lord Jesus and to all the saints. The hearts of God's people were refreshed by his kindness. Apphia was still worthy of the apostle's love; Archippus had been called to a definite ministry, either as deacon or evangelist, in the church, and had taken his place accordingly as a "fellow-soldier" with the apostle in the great army of Christ.

But of the story of Onesimus, Epaphras, we may well believe, had reported nothing, and it had to come in answer to St. Paul's gentle questioning, and in tremulous accents, from the lips of the young wanderer who stood before him. It was a common story enough. He had yielded to the temptations of his calling and had robbed his master, either by direct purloining or by indirect fraud or culpable negligence. He had been afraid of punishment,—perhaps all the more afraid because he thought that Philemon's higher standard of duty

as a Christian would make him more rigorous than other masters,—and had run away. The punishment of such a crime might have been scourging or imprisonment. He might have been branded with the three letters (F U R = thief) which would stamp him with an indelible ignominy. When flight had been added to his guilt, Roman law would hardly lfave interfered had the scourging or the torture ended in death.

It is not difficult to picture to ourselves how the apostle received that confession; how he would clasp the hands of the penitent, and lay his hands in blessing on his head, and tell him of the love of Christ and the death upon the Cross, and tell him that his sin was forgiven. Was this followed by a night of prayer and a morning baptism? Was it a time to which St. Paul looked back as one in which he, the prisoner, shut out from most opportunities of evangelistic work, had yet been able, in the might of intercession, to save a soul from death, to win a new spiritual son for God and for himself? That new life was, at any rate, implanted, and it showed itself, as was natural, in love and reverence to the teacher to whose influence it was due. To wait upon the apostle, ministering to his infirmities, to mitigate the inevitable discomforts of his imprisonment, to watch over him with a devotion which was at once filial and fraternal, - this was the return which Onesimus strove to make for the great blessing of his new birth to a higher and diviner life. It must have seemed to St. Paul a noticeable coincidence, assuming the inference above referred to, that one with a name so significant, and who thus fulfilled all the promise of the name, should succeed another whose name was like in meaning and who had rendered a like service; that Onesimus should fill up the gap that had been left by the death of Onesiphorus. With a gentle playfulness he loved to dwell on the thought that the slave was now "profitable" to him, and would be profitable when he re-entered his former master's service also.

That re-entry was the subject of the Epistle to Philemon. Useful as the slave had proved himself to the apostle, he was still the property of Philemon, and St. Paul, though he laid the axe to the root of the evil tree, by proclaiming the brotherhood of mankind in Christ, was not the preacher of a social His advice to every slave, as to every other man, was to abide in the calling in which he had been called, and, even if he had the opportunity to gain his freedom, to be content with servitude (1 Cor. vii. 21). However great, therefore, the trial might be of parting with one whom he had found so serviceable, Onesimus was to return to his master. The object of St. Paul's letter to Philemon was that he might return with-And to secure that result he was not content with writing to Philemon only. He commends him to the care of the Church of Colosse as a "faithful and beloved brother." He, with Tychicus, was to report to that church what he had seen of the apostle's state, to tell of his work and sufferings for the cause of Christ.

In writing to Philemon, St. Paul, as was natural, is fuller and more emotional, and the letter is characterized, from first to last, by an exquisite courtesy and tenderness. He begins, after his manner, by words of salutation, in which the fact that he is the "prisoner of the Lord" is brought in as suggesting his claim to the favourable consideration of his request, by dwelling on all that he had heard of the large-hearted kindness which his friend showed to others as a ground for his confident expectation that a like kindness would be extended to himself. He will not urge—though he suggests the claim in the very act of not urging it, that he might "have been bold " to speak almost as in the language of command. for love's sake will he, Paul the aged, Paul the prisoner, present his wish as an entreaty. And the entreaty is that of a father for a son. The slave is as the apostle's own flesh and blood, through the ties of that spiritual parentage. Then the playful element comes in, and the name of Onesimus suggests at once the confession that he had been unfaithful to the ideal which it implied, and the expression of the hope that the

ideal would at last be realized for his old master as well as for his new father in the higher life.

It was not without reluctance that the apostle parted with one who was, as it were, the representative of Philemon himself, rendering all the loving service which he would have rendered. had he been at Rome with him; but for all that he would not keep him. If he were ever to minister to him again, it should be with Philemon's full leave and licence. It would seem almost as if his mind hovered between two possibilities as the result of his letter, one that the consent would be given and that Onesimus might come back to him and minister to him to the end; the other, that Philemon would forgive and forget all the past, and would receive the penitent, no longer as a slave, but as a brother, worthy of all love and honour, not for a season only, but in the fullest meaning of the words, "for ever," both "in the flesh and in the Lord," in the outward relations of life, and in their sense of a diviner fellowship.

And then there comes a singularly characteristic touch, at once of generosity and humour. Philemon and the apostle had, as we have said, been at one time associated as partners in their secular calling. The latter accordingly now falls back upon the language which business men who are so connected use in writing to each other. "If thou count me a partner, receive him as myself. Let the runaway slave stand on the footing of my agent, and be treated as the agent of a partner ought to be." But then there came the fact which, both for the sake of justice and of the penitent himself, St. Paul had no wish to gloss over, that there had been a wrong committed. Onesimus had stolen or embezzled. How was that to be dealt with? Here also he falls into the business language of partners. "If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account." He was ready to debit himself with that responsibility. And then, suiting the action to the word, he ceases to dictate, and as in 1 Cor. xvi. 21, 2 Thess. iii. 17, takes the pen in his own hand and writes in the well-known characters,

large and strong as ever (Gal. vi. 11), what was in fact a promis-"I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it." Philemon might, if he chose, lock that up with his other securities, and treat it as an asset. But there was a latent feeling, perhaps a hope, that he would take a very different course. Was there not another account between them, that also with its debit and credit sides, in which the balance was altogether, immeasurably, in St. Paul's favour? "What shall a man give in exchange for his life, his soul's life?" And if Philemon had owed that life of his to the apostle's teaching, if he also was his spiritual son, was there not an overwhelming balance on St. Paul's side of the account? That was an arrow that was aimed well, and went straight to its It was followed up by words which combined as before an affectionate playfulness with what we may call a Christian astuteness. The name of Onesimus, with its suggestive significance, serves as the starting-point of this last appeal. "Let me have joy," rather, perhaps, "let me have some profit of thee," not in the region of temporal concerns, but "in the Lord," in the spiritual life, the life in Christ, in which the apostle and his friend were alike sharers. You have "refreshed the hearts of others; it remains for you to refresh mine, by kindness and forbearance to him whom I send to represent me." And he writes this, not in the tone of one who reminds another of a forgotten or neglected duty, but in the full confidence that he to whom the appeal is made will do more than he is asked to do, will rise to the level of the occasion, and act as one so generally beneficent and noble might be expected to act. That appeal is backed up by his holding out the hope that he will meet his friend before long, with the request for a personal service. "Prepare me also a lodging, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." Philemon, with that prospect before him, was not likely to act in a way that would make that meeting one of pain and disappointment to the apostle, of shame and confusion and self-reproach to himself. And so he ends with a few words of salutation from the Christian friends who were with him, and who, we may well believe, were in some way known to the man to whom they send their greeting.

Of the after-history of those whom the epistle has brought before us, we are left to guess. We can picture to ourselves the arrival of Onesimus and the presentation of the letter. We can scarcely doubt that his reception, both by his master and by the company of believers at Colossæ, was such as St. Paul desired. We can think of him telling the story of his conversion, and of all that he owed to the tender fatherly kindness of the apostle, of reporting what he had seen of the growth and work of the Church at Rome. If, with most recent writers on St. Paul's life, we believe that he was released from his first imprisonment, and carried into effect his intention of revisiting the Macedonian and Asiatic Churches, we may believe that the "lodging" for which he asked was not prepared in vain, and that the three-the apostle, the master, and the slave-met once more, to give thanks for all the great things God had done for them, to pray together for each other's welfare, to partake together in the breaking of bread, of that which was the pledge and symbol of their brotherhood in Christ. Whether the master went beyond the injunctions of the apostle and emancipated the slave, we cannot of course tell. Ignatius mentions an Onesimus as bishop of Ephesus (Epist. ad Ephes. i.) at the time of his journey to his martyrdom at Rome, and though we must allow an interval of forty-four years between that time and the date of the Epistle to Philemon, it is (as Bishop Lightfoot admits) at least possible that the converted slave may have risen to that high position. It is suggestive that Ignatius speaks of him in the highest terms as a man of "inexpressible love," and exhorts all the members of the Church to love and honour him, and that he reproduces St. Paul's allusion to the meaning of his name. "May I," he says, after naming

Onesimus, "have joy or profit of you, if indeed I be worthy of it" (c. ii.). Another Onesimus appears half a century later, as writing to Melito, bishop of Sardis, to urge on him the compilation of a volume of extracts from the Scriptures; and it may perhaps be inferred from its occurrence there and elsewhere, in the regions of Asia Minor, that the "memory of the Colossian slave had invested the name with a special popularity" (Bishop Lightfoot, Colossians, p. 377).

I have said that the epistle carries with it some evidential and ethical lessons which it may be well for us to learn, and they lie, happily, almost on the surface. And (1) for the evidential value. We may point to it as being beyond question the undisputed handiwork of the apostle whose name it bears. It does not connect itself with any stirring controversy, with any of the "tendencies" which men have traced in other portions of the New Testament. It is concerned with a strictly private transaction. It bears in every line the note of a distinct personality. Its touches of tenderness, playfulness, adroitness are beyond the skill of any literary But if this be so, then the genuineness of this epistle carries with it that of the Epistle to the Colossians, of which it is the inseparable adjunct. And the private as well as the public epistle is that of one who has arrived at a full assurance of faith, who lives as in a state of moral certitude. has found Christ to be a power, and not a name. It had transformed him from a persecutor to an apostle. It had transformed the dishonest slave to a beloved brother. new birth, of which his own words and prayers had been the starting-point, and baptism the completion, he, without doubt, had entered on a regenerate life. Old things had passed away, and all things had become new.

The high ethical standard implied in the epistle is thus not without its apologetic value. Still more does it teach a lesson which Christendom has as yet learnt inadequately. We point legitimately to the history of the triumph of the

Church over the brutalities of the old Greek and Roman slavery, to the recognition of the slave as a man and a brother. The leaven worked slowly, but it has leavened the whole lump. The emancipation of slaves, the enfranchisement of serfs, the labours of Wilberforce and Clarkson in the abolition of the slave trade, the repudiation of slavery at the cost of twenty millions sterling by Great Britain, the war between the Northern and Southern States of America as the outcome of the long struggle between the abolitionists and the slaveholders,—all these have grown out of the teaching which has the Epistle to Philemon for its most perfect embodiment. is the lesson exhausted? Have we not substituted the distinctions of class, rank, culture for the old division into slave and free, and made them as effective barriers against the full recognition of a spiritual brotherhood? Here and there among clergy and laity, there may be one who will act as if that brotherhood was a reality; who will talk to his servant as if he had a soul, and were called to be a child of God; who will pray with him and for him, and if he has been overtaken in a fault will restore him in the spirit of meekness. the most part we obtrude our class distinctions into a region where they have no place. We worship respectability in pews. The marshalled order of "family prayers" is the only acknowledgment that the master and the servant are the children of a Father in heaven, and its dull monotony is too often enlivened by no touch of personal sympathy, by no endeavours to originate or to foster the growth of the higher life. commands and inconsiderate pressure on the one side provoke The tie that dishonesty, insolence, untruthfulness on the other. binds the two together is simply a money contract, which each is ready to terminate on any occasion of dissatisfaction. We may "search Jerusalem with candles," may examine households professedly Christian in all classes of society, without finding a master and a servant living as St. Paul wished Onesimus and Philemon to live.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I. 1-6.

Superscription of the Name and Designation of the Writer.

Ver. 1. It was the custom of the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, and other peoples to superscribe their epistles with the name of the writer. Hence the first word of this epistle, Paul. It is the Gentilized and Latinized form of the writer's Hebrew name Saul.

In the Acts of the Apostles he is uniformly called Saul up to the time of his intercourse with Sergius Paul, or Paulus, The writer of the Acts the Roman proconsul of Cyprus. says, in chap. xiii. 9, when referring to Elymas the magician: "Then Saul, who is also Paul, filled with the Holy Spirit," etc. From this march-line onward to the end of the book, and, indeed, of the whole New Testament, we only read of Paul, never of Saul. It is probable that it would be in consequence of the apostle's pleasant intercourse with the proconsul, that he either assumed or accepted the Romanized modification of It would be a memento of his relation to the proconsul, whose name was that of an honoured Roman family. It suggested, moreover, the great preacher's consecration to work within the diocese of Gentiledom. Perhaps it had been borne by his father, when he received the honour of Roman citizenship. Perhaps it had been borne by himself when he was a boy in Tarsus. The easy way in which Luke introduces the name rather favours the idea that it was no new device or badge, "but Saul who is also Paul." Augustin clung tenaciously to the notion that the name was assumed by the apostle because of the modesty

of its etymological signification, Little or Small = paululus.—
a servant of Jesus Christ. Instead of servant, Schrader and Rilliet translate slave. Wordsworth, Conybeare, Hodge, Darby, Colenso use the corresponding term bondsman or bondman. Unhappily. Slavery and bondage suggest ideas of degradation and compulsory service. But Christ was and is no slaveholder. His people are all volunteers. (Ps. cx. 3.) Slavery is not the essence of servitude or service. It is only an accidental and ignoble phase of a relationship that is far more generic.

When the apostle calls himself a servant of Jesus Christ, it may be disputed whether he was referring to that general service which is yielded by all true Christians, or whether his reference is limited to some special sphere of ministry. Lordship and ministry or service are correlates; and therefore even the humblest Christians are "servants of Christ." (Eph. They "serve the Lord Christ." (Col. iii. 24.) They are submissive to His will, and devoted to His work. some occupy conspicuous positions in His service, and are thus emphatically "servants;" even as Abraham of old (Ps. cv. 6, 42); and Moses (1 Chron. vi. 49; Dan. ix. 11); and Joshua (Judg. ii. 8); and Elijah (2 Kings ix. 36); and many others were "servants of God." Paul was in this emphatic acceptation "a servant of Jesus Christ." And it was in virtue of this special relationship to the Saviour, that he took it upon him to communicate direct with the Roman Christians, although they were not his own spiritual children. ----a called apostle. Not only was the writer of the epistle a servant, he was that peculiar kind of servant known in Christian circles as an apostle. He stood in the highest rank of our Saviour's servants. He was one of his chief legates and plenipotentiaries; and hence was clothed with an authority that made it becoming in him to address a spiritual missive to his fellow-Christians in the imperial city The word apostle, so far as its radical nature is concerned, means missionary; but both terms have got so

conventionalized and specialized, that we cannot use them interchangeably. There is an idea of Christian authority attached to the word apostle that finds no place in the conventional acceptation of the word missionary, or in the still more generic term messenger. (2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25.) Paul was a called apostle. He did not thrust himself into the The office was as it were thrust upon him. really as Jesus called to Himself His Twelve, when originated the apostolate, so was there a divine call addressed to Paul to take his place on the staff, as "not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles." And he felt that he must not gainsay the voice of authority. "Necessity" seemed "laid upon him."-having been set apart to God's gospel; and hence his calling as an apostle. In the counsels of the Godhead he had been designed for the ministry of the gospel. The expression set apart to God's gospel denotes the apostle's destination. God had, so to speak, taken notice of him, and seen that he had adaptations for the work of the ministry, which were exceptional and unique. Hence He resolved to "apprehend," or lay hold of, him (Phil. iii. 12), that his remarkable powers might be consecrated to the work of proclaiming, explaining, applying, enforcing, and defending the grand evangel of salvation. That was to be his business. He had been divinely set apart to it,—set apart from all other engagements that would have proved entangling or engrossing. The particular act, however, of setting apart is not specified. Some suppose that the writer's mind would probably be running on what happened to him on his way to Damascus, and after he had been conducted within the precincts of the city. Others suppose that he might be thinking of what happened to him when, in Antioch, the Holy Spirit said, "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." But it is more likely that his mind was running in that groove of idea, of which he makes mention in his Epistle to the Galatians (i, 15), where he says, "when it pleased God, who set me apart from my

mother's womb, and called me by His grace." This identity of reference in the two epistles is rendered all the more likely, when we take into account the close chronological relationship that subsists between them. They are the outcome of one historic phase in the evolution of the apostle's mind, and hence the many points of thought at which they mutually touch. The apostle had been divinely set apart from his birth, and therefore we may mentally add, from before it. We may go back indefinitely into eternity. Yet unconditional foreordination need not, and must not, be assumed. Whatever God sees, as with microscopic vision, in time present, He foresaw with telescopic vision, in eternity past.

As it is extremely uncommon for the Greek word for gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) to be used without the definite article, Van Hengel proposes to interpret the expression εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ as meaning to a Godlike gospel. But our English idiom fits to a nicety the peculiarity of the Greek,—to God's gospel. The word God's, however, is not in the "objective" genitive,—the good news concerning God,—as Chrysostom supposed. It is, as is manifest from what immediately follows, "subjective," pointing to the Author and original Announcer of this gospel.

Ver. 2. The apostle, having struck on the phrase God's gospel, goes off after it at a tangent, so that, instead of forthwith stating, as might have been expected, the parties for whom the epistle was intended, he makes a wide and interesting detour concerning the gospel. This detour extends from the 2nd to the 6th verse inclusive; at the close of which the writer returns, after his excursion, to that point in formal letter-writing which he had reached at the close of the 1st Vers. 2-6 may thus be regarded as a long parenthesis, arising from the fact that the apostle's mind was full and running over. Thought surged upon thought within him, like wave upon wave. which He promised before. gospel, as it came to Paul, "had not dropped suddenly from heaven" (Godet). It had been promised ages before. no novelty. It was, says Chrysostom, "older than

Greeks." Somewhat like our Lord,—before Abraham was, it was; and it still is. God promised it before. The facts which are testified in the gospel, as we possess it, had not transpired in the time of the Old Testament dispensations. Hence they were then predicted; and, being delightful in their essential import, they were not threatened, but promised. This predictive and promissory annunciation of the delightful facts was in its essential nature tantamount to an Old Testament promise of the New Testament gospel. It was hence itself a sublime form of gospel; though a still sublimer form has been realized ever since the promise was fulfilled.

Instead of promised, Ewald renders προεπηγικίλατο, published before (vorverkündete). But such a translation, given likewise by Moses Stuart, is contrary to the usage of the verb in the middle voice.—through His prophets. The prophets were God's prophets, the living organs through whom He uttered His mind and announced His news. They received their name, not so much because they were foretellers of future events, as because they spake fore God, and thus for God, and as under the peculiar influence of God. The corresponding Hebrew term (נָבִיא) has no reference at all to prediction, but graphically suggests the upwelling, from a hidden source, of thoughts too deep for the mind of man to originate. the most wonderful of these thoughts had for their object what was yet future during the currency of the Old Testament dispensations, the ideas of prediction and prophecy did as a matter of fact often coalesce.—in sacred writings. The apostle had it in his option to point either definitely or indefinitely to the sacred Hebrew Scriptures. He chose to occupy the indefinite standpoint, asserting the sacredness, though not the exclusive sacredness, of the Scriptures referred to. Scriptures which bore a special and emphatic relation to God. Thence the sacredness which was their qualitative character. The word sacred, in such an expression, is to be preferred to the word holy, inasmuch as the latter term is, in our living English language, getting to be more and more appropriated to

designate right moral character, as existing either in the Creator Himself, or in the self-conscious and intelligent subjects of His moral government, in their normal relation to His will.

Ver. 3. Concerning His Son. How should we construe Many have supposed that they are to be these words? connected with the expression God's gospel at the close of They would thus regard verse 2nd as being the first verse. strictly parenthetical. Melancthon was of this opinion (see his Commentarii, 1540). So was Beza: in all his editions, after that of 1556, he throws verse 2nd within brackets. In this typographical device and fence he was followed by the Geneva version, and hence by King James' translators in 1611, as also by Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and many others. But such a parenthesis, whether formally bracketed or not, seems to be a violent intrusion; although Heumann contends for it strenuously, and is positive that the verse was an interlineation introduced by the apostle when he was reading over the letter before despatching it. A very different view was taken by Augustin, Erasmus (see his Lat. text), and Tyndale. They supposed that the expression concerning His Son is to be grammatically interlinked with the immediately preceding expression, thus: in sacred writings concerning His Son, or, as Tyndale gives it, in the Holy Scriptures that make mention of His Sonne. But this is a somewhat strained interlinking. Theodoret took the natural view of the connection, construing the expression concerning His Son with the verb He promised He has been followed by the great body of modern before. The gospel, in its full New Testament form, interpreters. and thus as announcing the advent of an all-sufficient Redeemer and Saviour, was from of old promised by God concerning His Son. The promise, viewed as a promise, and thus as something distinguishable from the proclamation of the accomplished facts, was an invaluable boon to bygone genera-It is even to us most precious, as furnishing that golden thread of divine prophecy, which, running through the whole of the Old Testament books, connects them into a unity, which teaches us that in all ages God has been putting Himself in communication with the human race, and seeking to effect the preparation of the human heart.

The promised Saviour is represented by the apostle as God's He is only emphatically so. Eminently indeed; preeminently; but not exclusively. Angels also are sons of God. (Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxvi. 7.) Adam, too, was God's son. iii. 38.) All men are God's offspring. (Acts xvii. 28.) Israel as a people were "God's son." (Ex. iv. 22.) Believers of the gospel are likewise very specially God's sons and daughters. (John i. 12; Rom. viii. 14-17; 1 John iii. 1.) All these are not merely creatures, as stones and stars are; they are offspring and children. They have community of ethical nature with their Creator. It has been derived to them from God, and assimilates them to God. Hence they are loved and favoured by God. But the great Redeemer is God's Son par excellence. He is not merely one with the great Father in ethical potentiality, and even in ethical character. one metaphysically. They are two in personality, each being able to say to the other, I and Thou; but they are one in "In the beginning," and before it, "was the Word. and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Between the Two there has ever been the perfection of love; and when One of the Two was for a season abased by voluntary humiliation, there was on the part of the Father ineffable sympathy and good pleasure.—who was born of the lineage of David. King James' translators gave a rather awkward rendering to this expression: who was made of the seed of They derived it from Beza, who allowed himself to be unduly swayed by the Latin Vulgate. The version of the Latin Vulgate is, who was made to Him (i.e. to God) of the seed of David. Beza dropped the apocryphal "to Him," but retained the objectionable "made," an error which he repeated and re-repeated in Gal. iv. 4. Laurentius Valla substituted "was born to Him" for "was made to Him," and both Erasmus

and Luther accepted the alteration so far as the verb was concerned. So did Bengel in his German version; and Meyer, and Van Hengel, and Godet. Our Saviour, even in His human nature, was of illustrious descent.—according to flesh. A very literal translation; too literal to be idiomatic. It is preferable to insert the article, according to 'the' flesh, or, better still, the possessive pronoun, according to 'His' flesh, that is, in respect of His human nature, or, as regards His human nature. To the apostle's mind there would undoubtedly be more meaning subtended by the word "flesh" than is obtruded on the surface. The other physiological ingredients of the body must be implied; and so must the vital soul. Indeed, all the essential elements of human nature are to be regarded as somewhat rudely represented. Hence we read, "O Thou that hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come" (Ps. lxv. 2). "All flesh shall come to worship before me, saith the Lord" (Isa. lxvi. 23). Hence, too, it is said of our Saviour in the Gospel of John (i. 14), "The Word became flesh," that is, the Word became human, the Word became a man. The apostle is not, for the time being, thinking of any theory of traducianism. Nor is he counting precisely the contents of human nature. He is using popular phraseology; and by the handle of that phraseology, as furnished to him by the most outstanding and outwardly conspicuous of all the constituent elements of our complex nature, he points attention to the lowlier side of our-Saviour's personality. The expression according to His flesh is explained by Beza with sufficient felicity thus, in so far as He is a man (quatenus homo est). His manhood was Davidic, even although it should be the case that the genealogical link was legal, coming through the personality of Joseph, rather than literal, coming through the personality of Mary. noteworthy that in the two genealogies of our Lord, the lines are traced to Joseph on the one hand, and from Joseph on the other; Mary's own pedigree in both cases being merged out of view.

J. MORISON.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

1. Christ's Idea of the Kingdom.

THE scope of the study which goes by the name of New Testament Theology may be variously defined. It may be vaguely and comprehensively regarded as an attempt to ascertain and set forth in order the views to be found in the various groups of New Testament books on all manner of religious and theological topics. With so wide a range it is apt to become a rather pointless and wearisome exercise. There is one mode of looking at this department of theological inquiry which, if not exhaustive, has at least the merit of definiteness and unflagging interest, that, viz., which makes it have supreme reference to the main drift and raison d'être of the literature to be studied. Why is there a New Testament? Because Jesus Christ came into the world an epochmaking personage in the history of religion and revelation. The question of sovereign importance therefore is, What is the significance of the new epoch? what is the good Christ brought The Highest Good it must be, if Jesus be indeed the Christ, the fulfiller of the promises and hopes of foregoing ages. What, then, is the summum bonum? The New Testament contains the answer to the question, and New Testament theology has for its chief, if not sole problem, to ascertain what the answer is. It may therefore be defined as the study of the leading types of doctrine concerning the things freely given to us of God in Jesus Christ.

Leading types we say, for the New Testament writings do not all present the gift of divine grace under precisely the same point of view. Four types may be distinguished, not of course antagonistic or mutually exclusive, rather closely

related; yet distinct, and capable of being associated with These types have objective and not merely certain books. subjective value; they are more than modes under which particular writers apprehended the truth, deriving their colour from personal idiosyncrasy and peculiar experience, though these elements have their place. They are different aspects of the same thing, having a relative independence, and exhibiting Christianity under distinct relations of resemblance or contrast to other forms of religion. The four types may be described by these titles: The Kingdom of God, The Righteousness of God, Free Access to God, Eternal Life. The first is the designation under which the benefit accruing from the advent of Christ appears in the synoptical presentation of our Lord's teaching; the second is the name for the same thing found in the Pauline Epistles; the third indicates the chosen point of view of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the last is the watchword of the Fourth Gospel. We propose in a series of papers to consider the respective portions of New Testament literature under these aspects, and we hope to show how the materials arrange themselves naturally around them as centres. We take up first the teaching of Christ as set forth in the first three Gospels.

The doctrine of Christ in these Gospels is the doctrine of the kingdom of God. Under this category all may be ranged; there is no other entitled to be placed above it, or that does not easily find a place under it. The ethical teaching of Christ is very important, and some have given it the first place and made the doctrine of the kingdom subordinate and secondary.¹ But the ethics of Jesus are the ethics of the kingdom, setting forth the laws by which its subjects are to guide their lives. The function of Christ as Redeemer is a still more important category, and it might seem as if the most appropriate general description of His teaching would be one giving prominence, as He did Himself, to the fact that He

¹ So Baur, in Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie.

came to "save the lost"—the doctrine of salvation. But even this heading falls naturally under the doctrine of the kingdom. The doctrine of salvation shows the way by which men enter into the kingdom. Christianity has been described as being, not a circle with one centre, but an ellipse with two foci; the doctrine of the kingdom being one of the foci, the doctrine of redemption the other. But no indignity is done to Christ's redeeming work by including it as a particular under the general head of the kingdom; rather is its fundamental importance thereby signalized. No higher idea can be formed of salvation than to make it consist in citizenship in the divine commonwealth; nor can Christ's importance as Saviour be more conspicuously magnified than by representing Him as one to whom citizens owe their admission to the privilege.

The Kingdom of God: what did Jesus mean by that In all that relates to the significance of Chrisexpression? tianity, two tendencies of thought have ever revealed themselves in the Church—one to magnify the new element in it, the other to reduce the new element to a minimum; on the one hand, to emphasize the affinity of the Christian religion to that which went before in the history of revelation; on the other, to emphasize the distinctness. The minimizing tendency has ever had on its side the majority. It has its representatives among living theologians in reference to the question now before us. The most recent writer, e.g., on the life of Jesus says: "What this kingdom is Jesus has nowhere expressly stated; He treats the notion as one current among It is therefore quite perverse to regard it as an the people. idea invented by Jesus, and to attempt to construct it out of His Historically viewed, Jesus can have meant nothing by it save what arose naturally out of the peculiarity of His people and its ways of thinking." 1 We should be very much surprised as well as disappointed if this were true. All the leading writers of the New Testament-Paul and the authors

¹ Weiss, Leben Jesu, i. 444, 445 (vol. ii. pp. 65, 66, Clark's translation).

of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel-betray in their writings an intense consciousness that some great and new thing had come into the world through the mission of Paul makes Christ the bringer in of a new creation. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews represents the Christian era as the era of the Better Hope through which we draw nigh to God, in contrast to the Levitical religion which kept men standing at an awful distance. In the Fourth Gospel the distinction between the new and the old dispensations is broadly indicated by the declaration: "The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." We should certainly expect to find the great Initiator not behind His apostolic interpreters in insight into the nature and ultimate outcome of His mission. Without claiming for Him omniscience, we should at least credit Him with the deep, far-reaching spiritual vision of a unique religious genius. This is also demanded by words of His own, of indubitable authenticity; such as those which represent John the Baptist as less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, and compare the movement with which He Himself was identified to a new garment and a new vintage. It would require some great epoch-making novelty in religious thought and life to justify such utterances.

It is true, indeed, the name employed by Jesus for the new thing is old. It indicates an attitude less antagonistic to the earlier rudimentary forms of religion than that of Paul, who is consciously and intensely opposed to legalism, and of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who is earnestly bent on asserting and evincing under every aspect the incomparable superiority of Christianity to the Levitical religion. It expresses affinity rather than antagonism, introducing a new world with the least possible shock to old associations. But the choice of it was due to wisdom, not to limitation of knowledge. It was natural and suitable at the initial period of the new age, yet fit for permanent use. It was not a transient

name, expressive of a hope that was destined to prove a dream—a restored theocratic kingdom of Israel, cherished by one who was under the influence of the old world that was about to pass away. It was a felicitous suggestive name for the blessing of the New Testament, used with full consciousness of its significance, expressive of eternal truth, and to be reverted to throughout the Christian ages for instruction and inspiration.

Nothing can be at once more necessary and more legitimate than the endeavour to ascertain by a close study of Christ's words and actions in what sense He used this title. necessary, for the title in itself is a form capable of much meaning, but expressly conveying little. It signifies some form of divine dominion. Abstractly viewed, it might denote the reign of the Almighty over all creation through the operation of natural law: or of the moral Governor of the world rendering to every man and nation according to their works; or of the God of Israel ruling over a chosen people, and bestowing on them power, peace, and felicity as the reward of obedience to His divine will. Or it might mean something higher than any of these things, the highest form of dominion conceivable, the advent of which is emphatically fit to be the burden of a gospel, viz. the reign of divine love exercised by God in His grace over human hearts believing in His love, and constrained thereby to yield Him grateful affection and devoted service. Which of all these was present to Christ's mind can be ascertained only by a study of His words and deeds. The two first are excluded by the simple consideration that the kingdom Christ proclaimed was represented by Him They do not come; they are always here and everywhere in all possible fulness. The choice lies between the other two, which are subject to the law of growth. theocratic kingdom comes as Israel becomes a righteous nation, and grows proportionally prosperous. The kingdom of grace comes as men open their hearts to the benignant love of God. and experience in increasing measure its peace-giving, renewing influence. Which of these, then, was it whose approach Jesus proclaimed? We must search the Gospels to determine. As either alternative is possible, the question is not to be settled by offhand assumptions. It may be that Jesus had in view, at least in the early period of His ministry, simply the theocratic kingdom of Hebrew prophecy and popular expectation,—a politico - ethical commonwealth, differing from the multitude only in placing the ethical element before the political as its indispensable condition; but the mere use of the expression "the kingdom of God" is no proof of this. The only legitimate and satisfactory course is to try to ascertain which hypothesis fits best into the particular statements and general drift of the evangelic history.

Our Lord is represented as opening His ministry with the announcement, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God The fact seems to favour what we may call the is at hand." 1 Judaizing hypothesis. The "time" referred to, it is natural to suppose, is Israel's time of merciful visitation, and the "kingdom" the realization of Israel's hope as depicted by the But even on this view the question at issue is not settled. For, on any hypothesis, Israel had a vital and prior interest in the kingdom now declared to be at hand; and as for the prophetic ideal of the kingdom, it is not quite so simple a matter to determine as one may at first be inclined to think. The general strain of Hebrew prophecy seems indeed to point to such a state of things as Zacharias longed for: Israel delivered out of the hands of her enemies, and serving God without fear, and amid prevalent prosperity.2 Yet there are stray utterances here and there which suggest the doubt whether this idyllic picture was ever to find a place in the realm of reality. There is, e.g., the ominous word, uttered towards the close of the prophetic period, which not obscurely hints that God's kingdom might come not merely so as not

¹ Mark i. 15.

² Luke i. 74.

to be a monopoly of Israel's, but even so as to involve for her a doom of reprobation. The prophet Malachi represents Jehovah, in disgust at the Pharisaical, heartless service of an ungodly race, exclaiming: "Oh that some one would shut the temple doors, that ye may no more kindle in vain a fire upon mine altar;" and declaring, "for from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles: and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts."1 is no more all the nations coming to Jerusalem with gold and incense in their hands, as in Isaiah's bright vision,2 but the temple shut up and forsaken, and an acceptable worship offered to God in every place where human souls are found worshipping the true God in spirit and in truth. Those who, like the father of the Baptist, waited for the consolation of Israel in Christ's time, might overlook such passages, but we are not to suppose that Christ Himself was blind to them. eye for overlooked texts, a mind that could appreciate forgotten or neglected truths, a spiritual insight that could discern the undercurrents of prophetic thought. Withal He was a most original interpreter; this we must ever remember if we would understand His teaching. He was, to an inestimable extent, original in every way. He was original as a thinker and actor, not the mere creature of historical development. was likewise original as an exegete and as a fulfiller of Scripture. He was not the slave of Old Testament texts, which it was His official duty as Messiah to fulfil. He brought out of His treasure things new as well as old; He spiritualized, idealized the utterances of the prophets, and He fulfilled them by filling them full to overflowing, bringing to the world in Himself and His teaching more than it is possible to find in

¹ Mal. i. 10. The rendering in the authorized version makes the text contain a charge of mercenariness against the priests.

² Isa. lx.

all Old Testament prophecies put together apart from the light shed on them by the gospel history.

Many things in that history point to the deeper mystic sense of the phrase now under consideration as the true one. Some of these can conveniently be mentioned here.

First, there is the very term "mystery" applied by Jesus to the kingdom in explaining to His disciples the parable of the Sower. "A mystery," it has been well remarked, "is a truth revealed for the first time by Jesus only, and by the Spirit of God who continues His work, and unknown to previous generations: we see, then, by that very term, that the idea which presents itself to our study will contain characters absolutely new, and which it will require special instruction to enable us to seize and comprehend." The comparison of the scribe instructed in the things of the kingdom to a householder who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old, points in the same direction. The parable, a familiar story of natural life, is the old; the new is a truth relating to the kingdom which the parable embodies.

The expression "the kingdom of grace," so familiar to us, nowhere occurs in the Gospels, and even the word "grace" (xápis) in the Pauline sense is of rare occurrence. The latter is, however, found once in Luke, in his account of Christ's presching in the synagogue of Nazareth, where it is said, "All bare Him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of His mouth." The reference is to the substance of the discourse, not to its manner. We can well believe that there was a peculiar charm in the speaker's manner, but it sprang from His heart being filled with enthusiasm for the mission on which He had been sent. The grace of manner had its source in the grace that lay in the message. He had come to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. The words of

¹ Reuss, Théologie Chrétienne, i. 174.

² έπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος.

³ Luke iv. 22.

the prophet quoted and descanted on take us involuntarily into a higher region than a restored theocratic kingdom of There can be no doubt how the evangelist regarded them, and in what sense he called them "words of grace." He has taken the scene in the synagogue of Nazareth out of its true historical place, and set it in the forefront of his gospel, to signify that the mission of Jesus concerned men's souls, and that it concerned all men. That scene, as it stands there, stamps Christ's whole ministry with the attributes of spirituality and universality, proclaims it to be throughout a ministry of love to all the sinful, sorrowful sons of men. True, the evangelist's thought is not necessarily the thought of Jesus; and in transferring that scene from its true place, late in the evangelic history, he may be conveying a false impression as to the views and hopes with which the Herald of the kingdom began His ministry. But the presumption, to say the least, is the other way. The frontispiece of Luke's Gospel makes for the hypothesis that the doctrine of the kingdom from the first moved on a higher plane than that of vulgar expectation.1

The nature of Christ's preaching may be inferred from the effect of it on the minds of those who welcomed it. The disciples of Jesus conducted themselves as men who had received good news. They fasted not, they resembled rather a bridal party going to a wedding feast, according to the testimony of their own Master. Did their joy spring from the hope that the theocratic kingdom was about to be restored to Israel, and unrighteousness, misery, and the Romans expelled from the Holy Land? In that case we should have expected the disciples of the Baptist to share the joy, for their thoughts admittedly ran in that direction. But they did not: it was the marked difference in habit and temper between the two discipleships that gave Jesus occasion to make the striking

¹ The scene in the synagogue of Nazareth has the same typical significance in Luke's Gospel that the Sermon on the Mount has in Matthew's. On this point, see my "Galilean Gospel."

comparison of His own disciples to a bridal party. Whence this difference? Why were the followers of Jesus like people going to a wedding, and the followers of John like a band of pilgrims faring towards a holy place, doing penance for their sins? It must have sprung from totally diverse conceptions of the kingdom whose approach both Masters proclaimed, imbibed from the teaching of those Masters. Jesus and John used much the same form of words, but they cannot have meant the same thing. We know what John meant when he spoke of the kingdom. He meant the people of Israel converted to righteousness, and in consequence blessed with national prosperity. And that being his ideal and aim, he was a gloomy man, and those who were about him became infected with his gloom. For he saw too soon and too well that the conversion of Israel to righteousness was a very improbable event. And so, despairing of the nation, and hoping only for the salvation of a small remnant, he began to talk of a winnowing-fan to separate wheat from chaff, and of an axe of judgment to hew down the worthless tree. In the mouth of one in this grim, desponding mood, the announcement of the approaching kingdom was a message of doom rather than of hope; it was awful tidings rather than good tidings, for the greater number at least, and indeed for all; for who could tell who should be able to stand the King's keen scrutiny, "who may abide the day of His coming?" All one could do was to labour painfully at self-reformation, fasting, praying, scrupulously cleansing body and soul, humbly trusting he might have a chance of standing at Jehovah's dread appearing. From the joy of Christ's disciples, we infer that He meant something different. He did not expect national repentance, though He desired it, and faithfully worked for it; therefore He never despaired. He did not come merely making a legal demand, and commanding men to be righteous under penalties. He came as one conscious that He had a message to proclaim that would help men to be good and happy. Therefore He

was glad and hopeful, and all who came near Him felt His presence as a warm summer sun.

Another significant indication of the nature of the kingdom Jesus preached may be found in the kind of people to whom He principally and by preference addressed His invitations to enter. He preached the gospel of the kingdom to the poor; 1 He defined His mission by such sayings as these: "I am not come to call the righteous but sinners;" 2 "the Son of man is come to seek and to save the lost." 3 He threw the gates of the kingdom open to all comers, irrespective of antecedent character, even if they had been really as bad as the Pharisees deemed those whom they branded as "publicans and sinners." Many morally disreputable persons responded to His call. This fact was in His view when He uttered the remarkable saying, "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." 4 Publicans. sinners, harlots, the moral refuse of society,-such were the persons who in greatest numbers and with greatest earnestness pressed into the kingdom,—a phenomenon astonishing to reputable, "righteous," religious people. The kingdom of God was being made a cave of Adullam, whither every one that was in distress or deep in moral debt resorted. The city of God was being taken possession of by "dogs," whose proper place was without; it was as it were being stormed by rude, lawless bands, and taken from those who thought they had an exclusive right to it. What a violence! what a profanation! Perhaps so; but one thing is clear: these persons who by their passionate earnestness were storming the kingdom would not suppose that they had any right to it. They listened to Christ's call, because they gathered from His preaching that the kingdom was a gift of grace, meant, in fact, God's sovereign,

¹ Matt. xi. 5. ² Matt. ix. 13. ³ Luke xix. 10.

⁴ Matt. xi. 12. Some take the statement in a bad sense, as implying that the people were seeking the kingdom in a worldly spirit, bent on setting up a political kingdom, irrespective of ethical conditions. This view is unsuitable to the connection of thought.

unmerited love to unworthy men, blessing them with pardon, and so gaining power over their hearts. And they felt that it did gain power, and that the dominion was real. Forgiven much, they loved much. Christ also was aware of the fact, and that was one of His reasons for seeking citizens of the kingdom in such a quarter; and that He did seek them there, for such a reason, shows very plainly what His idea of the kingdom was: a kingdom of grace in order to be a kingdom of heliness.

The attitude of Jesus towards the social abjects is in many ways significant. It implies, as we shall see, a new idea of man; but what we wish now to point out is the tendency it indicates towards universalism. This part of Christ's public action, as the records show, created much surprise, and provoked frequent censure. Nor is this to be wondered at. It really meant an incipient religious revolution. It manifested a disregard for conventional social distinctions, involving a principle which might one day be applied on a much wider scale, in the form, viz., of a disregard of distinctions, not merely between classes within the bounds of the chosen people, but between races and nations; Jew and Gentile being treated as one, both needing salvation, neither having any claim to it, and the Gentile being not less capable of it than the Jew. In maintaining sympathetic relations with the "publicans and sinners," Jesus said in effect: "The kingdom is for them too; it is for all who need it and make it welcome. It opens its gates, like ancient Rome, to all comers, on condition that they conduct themselves as good citizens, once they are within its walls. From east, west, north, south, let them come; they shall not be refused admittance." The jealous guardians of Jewish prerogative did well, therefore, to take alarm at this novel interest in the lost sheep of Israel, whom they themselves had abandoned to their fate.

The universalistic drift revealed in Christ's love for the low and lowly found expression in many of His words. We refer to such as these: "Ye are the salt of the earth;" "ye are the light of the world;" "the field is the world." The human race is regarded as the subject of the salting and enlightening influence of the children of the kingdom, and the field to be sown with the word of the kingdom; so that we are not surprised to find one Gospel closing with the injunction from the Master to His disciples: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations;" and another, with a similar command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation." There is a width of horizon in such utterances that is totally irreconcileable with the hypothesis that Jesus was merely a patriotic Jew, whose sympathies as well as His work were confined to His countrymen, and whose aim was to make Israel first a righteous nation, and then a free, prosperous kingdom.

But we may be reminded that there are things in the Gospels pointing in a contrary direction, which imply either that Christ's teaching and action were not self-consistent, or that the evangelists do not give us a reliable record of His They are such as these: the refusal of Jesus to. grant the prayer of the woman of Canaan, on the ground that His mission was to Israel; the exclusion of Samaria from the sphere of the mission on which the twelve were sent; and such apparently contemptuous expressions towards pagans as those in the Sermon on the Mount: "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do," "after all these things do the Gentiles seek;" the still more offensive term "dogs" employed with the same reference in the interview with the Syrophenician; and the direction given to the future ministers of the kingdom to treat an obstinately impenitent offender "as an heathen man and a publican." It is not a very formidable array of counter-evidence. When Jesus said, "I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," He did certainly speak seriously. He did regard Himself, in His individual capacity, as a messenger of God to the Jewish nation exclusively, unless when good cause could be shown for making an exception. But that is a very different thing from regarding the kingdom of God, in its essential nature and ultimate destination, as a matter in which Jews alone had any interest. Assuming that the kingdom was destined to universality, it might still be the wisest method for founding a universal, spiritual monarchy to begin by securing a footing within the boundaries of the elect people; and that could be done only by one who devoted his whole mind to it, determined not to be turned aside by outside opportunities, however tempting, or by random sympathies, however keen, with sin and misery, beyond the Jewish pale. The utterance in question only shows the thoroughly disciplined spirit of Jesus in abiding at His own appointed post. As He was willing to be the corn of wheat cast into the ground to die, that through death there might be great increase, so He was willing to be God's minister to the Jews, as the best preparation for a future ministry among the Gentiles. The other particulars above referred to hardly need explanation. The direction given to the disciples not to go to the Samaritans is sufficiently explained by their spiritual immaturity. The two allusions to pagan practice in prayer have no animus in them: they are simple statements of fact brought in to illustrate the speaker's There is certainly an animus in the term "dogs," but it is not an animus of hatred. It was used to experiment on the spirit of the person addressed. One who really hated the Gentiles would neither have taken the trouble to make the experiment, nor been so gratified with the result. the saying last quoted, the possibility of misapprehension is precluded by the familiar facts of Christ's personal history. know what the publicans were to Him; and if He felt towards the heathen in like manner, they were to Him objects not of aversion or contempt, but of humane, yearning compassion.

One fact more we mention, as surely indicating the *spiritual* character of the kingdom Jesus preached. It is the alternative name for the kingdom of frequent occurrence in the first Gospel. Mark and Luke call it the kingdom of God. Matthew

almost uniformly calls it the kingdom of heaven. The expression suggests the thought that the kingdom is an ideal hovering over all actual societies, civil or sacred, like Plato's Republic to be found realized in perfection nowhere on this earth, the true home of which is in the supersensible world.1 In all probability the title was used alternatively by Jesus for the express purpose of lifting the minds of the Jewish people into a higher region of thought than that in which their present hopes as members of the theocratic nation moved: just as, in addressing censors of His conduct in associating with publicans and sinners, He spoke of the joy in heaven over a sinner repenting to gain an entrance into their minds for the conception of a love in His own heart whereof as yet they had not so much as dreamed. There is no reason to doubt that the phrase belonged to the vocabulary of Jesus, though a writer already quoted confidently affirms that it cannot have belonged to the apostolic tradition, in other words was not employed by Christ.2 The opinion carries no weight, for it is a mere assertion, but it is very interesting as an indirect testimony on the part of its author that the designation in question does not fit well into his theory as to the nature of the kingdom Jesus proposed to found. The argument is: "The kingdom was to be the fulfilment of theocratic hopes, therefore it cannot have been called by Jesus the kingdom of heaven. That name must have come in when the hope of a restored kingdom of Israel was seen to be a dream."

¹ So Baur.

Weiss, Lehrbuch der Biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments, p. 47. Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums, i. 397, says that what the wise in Israel in the time of our Lord aimed at was simply the highest piety of life, the union in modes of feeling and action which was called the kingdom of heaven, though they did not express their meaning clearly; and that Rabbinical expressions concerning the so-called King Messiah were all of later date. If this view be correct, the phrase "the kingdom of heaven" was current then, and had a purely ethical or spiritual meaning. Jost represents the "kingdom of heaven" of Jewish theology as a refuge to the devout from the degradation of the templeworship by unworthy high priests, and from the bondage under which the people sighed, and as such as a pioneer to Christianity.

Strange that this unhistorical name should occur in the first Gospel, the most theocratic of all the four!

It would be a mistake to suppose that in using this name Jesus meant to banish the kingdom from earth to the skies, from this present life to the future world. As He presented it, it was very lofty in nature, yet near men, yea in their very hearts; there if anywhere. It concerned men here and now; all men eventually, Israelites in the first place, as they were the people of the old election, and the Herald of the kingdom was their countryman. It was to become a society on earth, ever widening in extent, for a kingdom is a social thing; it could not fail to become such if it met with any reception from those to whom it was proclaimed, for the spirit of the kingdom is love, and impels to fellowship. It was the highest good of life, the hidden treasure which men should willingly buy with all their possessions, the precious pearl for which all else should be gladly exchanged. It was accessible to all: to the poor, the hungry, the weeping, the social outcasts, and the depraved; not to them exclusively, but to them very specially, as most needing its blessings and most likely to welcome them. It was spiritual. The conditions of admission, the sole conditions so far as appears, and as we shall hereafter try to prove, were repentance and faith, or in one word receptivity—readiness to make the kingdom welcome. It was associated with, may almost be said to have consisted in, a certain doctrine of God, and a kindred doctrine of man. "Briefly stated, the religious heaven of Jesus meant the Fatherliness of God for men, the sonship of men for God, and the infinite spiritual good of the kingdom of heaven is Fatherhood and Sonship." 1 It was all this from the beginning of Christ's ministry. Jesus did not begin to cherish and utter these gracious, spiritual, universal thoughts in the later sorrowful days of His public ministry, after painful experience had taught Him that the aim with which He started was a

¹ Keim, Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, 54.

generous patriotic delusion. The career He ran was not this: The Nazarene prophet goes forth from His home full of youthful enthusiasm, bent on realizing the hope which prophecy had nursed, with this as His watchword and programmefirst, the kingdom of God and His righteousness; next, food and raiment, or in one word prosperity. First a righteous nation, then a people free and happy. He goes about preaching the approach of the kingdom in this sense, and dispensing benefits especially to the poor and the sick with Messianic bountifulness. The people, especially in the northern province, receive Him and His doctrine and His benefits with enthusiasm. They welcome the kingdom, and they hail Him King. their programme is not His; it is His inverted. They desire political independence and temporal well-being first and unconditionally, and as much righteousness as can be made forthcoming after that. This once made manifest, at the Capernaum crisis, Jesus enters emphatic dissent, and the charm is gone. The multitude melts away; and the eyes of Jesus are opened. It is all over with the dream of a theocratic kingdom of Israel with Himself for its King. awaits Him, He now sees, is not a throne but a cross. If He is to have a kingdom, it must be one of a different sort. seeks it meantime with sad heart in the formation of a separate society gathered out of Israel; and gradually His mind opens up to the great inspiring thought of spiritual dominion, gained through death over human hearts, not in Judea only, but in all lands. Far other was the actual course of Christ's history. His greatest thoughts were present to His mind, in germ at least, from the first, though they underwent development in correspondence with outward events. He had a spiritual, universal kingdom in view the day He preached the Sermon on the Mount, as the opening sentences clearly show. He expected a tragic end at the time when

¹ This is substantially the scheme worked out by Weiss in his *Leben Jesu*. It involves new interpretations of many texts.

He defended His disciples for the neglect of fasting. If it seem unnatural that one capable of entertaining such wide-ranging ideas, and visited with such gloomy forebodings, should devote Himself with singleness of heart to the limited and also thankless task of the regeneration of Israel, it will be well to remember that Hebrew prophets had done much the same thing. Isaiah and Jeremiah went forth in God's name to preach to their countrymen righteousness, with small hope of bringing them to repentance; nevertheless they did their duty faithfully and nobly, at all hazards to themselves, as their recorded prophecies amply attest.

A. B. BRUCE.

THE GROUNDWORK OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THE late Archdeacon Lee, in an interesting section of his work on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, has pointed out with regard to the prophets of the Old Covenant, that the scenes in the midst of which their lot was cast, and the influences by which they were surrounded, often affected the form of their visions, and suggested the symbol by which the divine ideas were clothed in such an outward shape as to become intelligible not only to the recipient of the vision, but also to those to whom he was to make it known:—

"When the prophet has been of sacerdotal race, the different features of the Theocracy—the Temple and the Altar, the Ark and the Cherubim—float before his view, as in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The shepherd Amos still wanders in his pastures; his imagination lingers with his flock and dwells on the culture of his fields; his similitudes are taken from the mildew that blights the vineyard or the lion that invades the fold."

Again, it is pointed out that "the language of both Daniel and Ezekiel is abundantly illustrated by the results of those recent investigations which have brought to light the long buried memorials of oriental symbolism. Mr. Layard, in his work on Nineveh, thus speaks of the imagery of Ezekiel: 'The resemblance between the symbolical figures I have described and those seen by Ezekiel in his vision, can scarcely fail to strike the reader. As the prophet had beheld the Assyrian palaces, with their mysterious images and gorgeous decorations, it is highly probable that when seeking to typify certain divine attributes, and to describe the divine glory, he

¹ The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 181.

chose forms that were not only familiar to him, but to the people whom he addressed—captives like himself in the land of Assyria. . . . It will be observed, continues this writer, 'that the four forms chosen by Ezekiel to illustrate his description,—the man, the lion, the bull, the eagle,—are precisely those which are constantly found on Assyrian monuments as religious types.'" 1

If the truth thus illustrated is an important one to bear in mind in Old Testament exegesis, it is still more important for one who would seek to understand the Revelation of St. Difficult as that book is, yet I believe that it is made a hundred times more difficult by the very general neglect of this truth. Assuming, as I believe we are fully warranted in doing that the Apocalypse comes from the pen of the beloved disciple, who was also the author of the fourth Gospel, we are justified in turning to that Gospel and to the epistles which confessedly come from the same hand, in order to discover the kind of influences to which the author was especially Now it is very striking that in these works there is scarcely anything which we can set down as due to such external influences as scenery or local surroundings. different is it with St. Paul! In writing to the Corinthians, his mind naturally reverts to the Isthmian games, and he draws his illustration from them in that magnificent passage in which the corruptible is contrasted with the incorruptible crown, and the severe training of the athlete is held up as the model for the Christian. (1 Cor. ix. 24-27.) In writing to the Ephesians the image of the temple of the great goddess Artemis seems involuntarily to rise before him, and to suggest the figure of that far grander Christian temple "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone" (Eph. ii. 20-22); while, when we read that terrible picture of the state of the heathen world in Rom. i. 22-32, we feel

¹ The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 183.

that the description gains in force and vividness from the recollection that it was written at Corinth, that city which was celebrated not more for its wealth than for the vice and profligacy of its inhabitants. But with the Epistles of St. John the case is widely different. It is said of them by Dr. Westcott that "the colouring is not local but moral." cannot mark out passages in them (as we can in St. Paul's writings) which were evidently suggested by the scenes in which the writer moved, and the sights which met his eye as he passed along the streets of Ephesus. We can, however, mark out passage after passage which is but an echo of some saying of his Divine Master. This is of itself sufficient to indicate the character of the apostle's mind, and the sort of influences which we might expect to find reproduced in his visions. Those which will tell upon him most will not be his external surroundings. Hence in the Apocalypse we should not look for frequent traces of scenery on which the outward eye had rested (although even these are not entirely wanting¹), but we should expect rather that the forms of his visions, and the symbols which made their meaning plain, would be drawn from those scenes with which the mental eye had occupied itself, and on which his thoughts had brooded in long hours of patient meditation. And when we come to examine his work, this is exactly what we find to be the case. particular there is a close (though sometimes overlooked) correspondence between the Apocalypse and the other writings of St. John; in another there is a marked difference, and one of which it is difficult to give a thoroughly satisfactory explanation. All his writings are alike in that they contain echo after echo of our Lord's own sayings. The Apocalypse differs from his Gospel and epistles in that in many parts it is almost a cento of passages from the Old Testament, while in the Gospel St. John quotes (in his own person) but seldom, in his epistles never. Curiously enough, his three epistles

¹ Compare a remarkable passage in Stanley's Sermons in the East, p. 230.

are the only books of the New Testament, except the tiny Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, in which not a single reference to the Old Testament is given in the exhaustive list of quotations in Professors Westcott and Hort's Greek Testa-In the Gospel there are twenty, but only about halfa-dozen of these are made in his own person: the rest being put into the mouths of the different characters introduced into the narrative. In the Revelation the sum amounts to the astonishing number of three hundred and fifty. The only explanation which can be given of this remarkable difference is that it is due to the different character of the writings and to the variation of subject. The subject-matter of the Gospel and epistles is not such as easily to admit of constant reference to the Old Testament; while, since the subject of the Revelation was to a great extent identical with the subject of some of the Apocalyptic Scriptures of the Old Covenant, it is only natural that similarity or even identity of language should occur in the description of it. out Scripture there appears to be a certain correspondence between the message and the person to whom it is entrusted. It must always be remembered that "the same power which gave the message selected the messenger; and the grounds of this selection we can clearly discern to have been the natural capacity, and the opportunities, as well as the personal characteristics which marked the several writers of Scripture." Our Lord Himself has laid down the principle that "to him that hath shall be given." The action of this is seen in the Apocalypse. The subject of the book, A AEI TENEZOAI (Rev. i. 1, iv. 1, xxii. 6), had been already dealt with by writers of the Old Covenant, such as Ezekiel, Daniel, and Further, our Lord Himself had made a distinct revelation on this same topic to the innermost circle of His apostles, which of course included St. John (Mark xiii. and observe δει γενέσθαι in verse 7); and he who had been the most diligent student of these earlier revelations was thereby

fitted to become himself the recipient of further visions from the Lord. "To him that hath shall be given." What wonder, then, if the teaching of the Apocalypse is linked on to those earlier writings; if it starts from them, repeats them and expands them, and carries forward their view to a yet more distant horizon? What wonder, too, if he who received this final revelation, when he came to write it down for the benefit of others, made choice of phrases and expressions and symbols familiar to him from their occurrence in the visions of which he had made so close and so earnest a study?

These remarks will indicate the line of thought which I propose to follow up in a few papers. If the origin of St. John's imagery and the groundwork of his symbolism really lie in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and in the teaching of our Lord Himself, it is evident that the interpretation of the Apocalypse will be greatly influenced thereby. If the expositor neglects the source, he is pretty sure to err in the explanation; whereas, if we discover that any given passage of the Revelation is but a symbolic and dramatic representation of some saying of our Lord, we shall feel that the key to its interpretation lies in the right understanding of the words which suggested it. So also, where the symbols are taken from the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, it would be a grievous error on the part of the interpreter to neglect the primary passages which gave birth to the figures and language employed by St. John in describing what was revealed to him. In some cases it may be that he has merely adopted words already used in the Old Testament, because they served to express his meaning, without thereby intending to denote any close connection of subject. Such instances, however, will probably be exceptional. More often we shall find that the adoption of the same symbols points to similarity if not to identity of subject; and it would clearly be wrong to employ one method of interpretation for the Apocalyptic writings of the Old Testament, and to adopt an entirely different system in

explaining the same kind of language in the New. Yet this is what is frequently done by commentators of very different The Revelation of St. John is treated as if it stood alone, and as if it were the only book of its kind; whereas it is really but the last of a series of Apocalyptic Scriptures, having its counterpart in many portions of the Old Testament, especially in the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, in which visions as distinct from ordinary prophecies are frequent. Nor must it be forgotten that outside the canon of Scripture imitations of this form of writing are not unknown. book of Enoch and the "Fourth Book of Esdras" are but specimens showing the fondness of the Jews for the apocalyptic style, while the interpolations and additions to the lastmentioned work, and the Pastor of Hermas, bear witness to the familiarity of the early Christian Church with the same method of composition. Such human inventions are, of course, to be carefully distinguished from the true revelations of God, but they are useful as showing how some symbols became (so to speak) "common property," with their recognised meaning attached to them, and also as pointing out the kind of ideas which would naturally be associated with the symbolic imagery used, and thus giving us a clue to its interpretation.

I propose then, in the course of a few papers, to illustrate a line of thought and method of working at the Revelation which, I believe, will well repay the devout student of Holy Scripture. It is possible that many passages will always remain dark and perplexing; there are some of which no tolerable explanation has ever yet been offered. But if any one, when working through the book, will be at the pains to examine carefully every word which is printed in uncial characters in Drs. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, and to trace it back to its original source by the help of the table of quotations in vol. ii., I am certain that he will be well rewarded for his labour. And if, further, he will read the

¹ Viz. cc. i. and ii.; and xv. xvi. See also vii. 28.

Apocalypse in the light of our Lord's own discourses, and note down every parallel and every passage in the Gospels which can by any possibility have suggested an image or figure in the Apocalypse, he will gain an insight into the meaning of "the hardest book in the Bible," which no commentary, however excellent, can give him.

In order to make quite clear to my readers to how great an extent the language of the Revelation is borrowed from the Old Testament, I will conclude this paper by noting down all the parallel passages to chapter i. verses 4-20, and by italicizing all the expressions which are drawn from them. The section forms an instructive study, and many of the parallels are highly significant; but I must be content with the marginal references indicating where they are to be found, as want of space forbids me to comment upon them in detail.

- i. 4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia:

 Grace to you, and peace, from him which is, Ex. 111. 14.

 and which was, and which is to come; and from
 - 5 the seven Spirits which are before his throne; and from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful Witness, the Ps. lxxxix. 37. first-born of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of Ps. lxxxix. 27. the earth. Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us
 - 6 from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be Ps. exxx. 8. a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; Ex. xix. 6. to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and
 - 7 ever. Amen. Behold, he cometh with the clouds; Dan. vii. 13. and every eye shall see him, and they which pierced him; and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn Zech. xii. 10, 12 over him. Even so, Amen.
 - 8 I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord Ex. iii. 14; Isa. God, which is, and which was, and which is to Amos iv. 13.
 - 9 come, the Almighty. I John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the
 - 10 testimony of Jesus. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard behind me a great voice, as
 - 11 of a trumpet, saying, What thou seest, write in a Ex. xix. 6. book, and send it to the seven churches; unto

Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto

- 12 Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice which spake with me. And having
- 13 turned I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the candlesticks one like unto a son of Dan. vii. 18. man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about at the breasts with a golden girdle. Ezek.i. 26, viii. 2.
- 14 And his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame Dan. vii. 9.
- 15 of fire; and his feet like unto burnished brass, as Dan. x. 6. if it had been refined in a furnace; and his voice
- 16 as the voice of many waters. And he had in his Ezek. i. 24, xliii. right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword; and his counten-
- 17 ance was as the sun shineth in his strength. And Judg. v. 31. when I saw him I fell at his feet as one dead. Ezek. i. 28. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear Dan. x. 12, 19.
- 18 not; I am the first and the last, and the living Isa. xliv. 2, 8 one; and I was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of
- 19 Hades. Write therefore the things which thou sawest, and the things which are, and the things
- 20 which shall come to pass hereafter; the mystery of Dan. ii. 29. the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks are seven churches.¹

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¹ Besides those passages which are noted as borrowing the language of the Old Testament, the imagery or symbols seem in some other cases to have been suggested by earlier books of Scripture, viz. the "seven spirits" of ver. 4, cf. Isa. xi. 2; Zech. iv. 10: the "seven candlesticks," cf. Zech. iv. 2; Ex. xxv. 37: the "sharp sword" proceeding out of the mouth in ver. 16, cf. Isa. xlix. 2, xi. 4.

THE OMISSION FROM THE FOURTH GOSPEL OF THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

THE silences of Holy Scripture are often as expressive as its utterances. The lives of the greatest heroes of its history and the progress of its revelation are pictured by a vivid presentation of a few disconnected events, or by the minute details of the occasions when some world-moving words were uttered. "The rest remaineth unrevealed." When a ray of sunshine breaks through the branches of forest trees, the allrevealing beam discloses the mystic dance of bird and flower and gorgeous insect, the glow of strange colour, a very world of wonder and beauty, which gives an exaggerated sense of the special charm of the little glade that is thus accidentally exposed to view. With such loveliness before us, we are tempted to forget that similar disclosures might be made throughout the vast extent of the untrodden forest.

Long periods in the active life of prophets and apostles are absolutely hidden from us. The few scenes in which their travail is depicted, and their character revealed, compel us to utilize our historic imagination in order to conceive the many-sided grandeur of their nature, and the fulness of their life.

The thirty-three years of the life of our Divine Lord are only made known to us by the events of as many days. The first thirty years are wrapped in an impenetrable silence, with the exception of one solitary utterance. A comparison of the Synoptic with the Johannine narrative makes the solemnity of this silence even more conspicuous. The chronological arrangement of the fourth Gospel expands occasionally into a year, that which the Synoptists have denoted by a sentence.

When thus expanded, the details are still few and far between. Each of the evangelists had access to information not utilized by the other three. This circumstance is abundantly conspicuous in the case of Matthew, Luke, and John, nor is it absent from Mark. When all the sources of information are enumerated, we are still left to conjecture as to the deeds which were done and things that were daily said by Him who "spake as never man spake." If we take as illustration what may be called the proem of the public ministry as detailed by St. John, it is impossible to deny that many scenes as thrilling as those at Cana, at Jerusalem, and at Jacob's Well, were being enacted during the many months which elapsed between the temptation in the wilderness and the public ministry in Galilee.

In adjusting to each other the fourfold delineation of the life of the Son of God, we are confronted with much that is common to each of the evangelists. But between the Synoptic representation and the Johannine, certain conspicuous contrasts of time, scene, and predominant teaching have provoked the curiosity of critics and the ingenuity of apologists. But the more closely these apparent contrarieties are pondered, so much the more evident becomes the imposing oneness of the Christ. The manifoldness of His character ceases to break into opposing elements His wondrous personality.

Among the special difficulties besetting this study may be cited the inexplicable omissions by John of certain events with which he must have been as familiar as either Matthew or Peter (the traditional source of Mark's narrative) could have been. We ask with amazement, why did John omit the Sermon on the Mount, the transfiguration, the institution of the Supper, the claim of Messiahship in answer to the adjuration of Caiaphas, or the final commission given by the risen Lord to the eleven apostles? All these events would be in perfect harmony with the great and recorded motive of the writer: These things are written that ye may believe that

Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. Even an hypothetical Ephesian disciple in the second century would have found them entirely compatible with his supposed theological purpose. A perfectly different explanation must be found for the omission than the well-known speculation of some hostile critics.

When, however, we turn to the agony in the Garden, and to the humiliation and deepest sorrows of the Cross, we are not on the same ground. Keim tells us, that if the Johannine recital of the night of the passion be historic, then the Synoptic account is utterly "pulverized." We may consider this statement on another occasion, but we must concede that one who held Docetic or semi-Gnostic views of the humanity of Jesus would a priori have been strongly tempted to ignore the agony, the bloody sweat, and the awful cry, "My God! why hast Thou forsaken me?"

There are sundry and subtle indications in John's majestic description of the night of the passion and of the trial before Pilate, that the writer was perfectly familiar with the Synoptic narrative, and in the representation he made of the incarnate love he presupposed acquaintance with its special details on the part of his readers. The profoundest insight into the blended agony and peace of the Saviour's spirit is given in the fourth Gospel. John xii. 23-36 throws much needed light on the sorrows of Gethsemane. The cup which my Father giveth me to drink-words addressed to Peter, and recorded by John (xviii. 11)—provide a thrilling reminiscence of the prayer recorded on the authority of one or both of them in the Synoptic narrative. The supplementary theory will only account for some of the facts. Each of the Gospels presents some special revelation of the wondrous life with strange mysterious brevity and reserve. When these touches of divinely suggested portraiture are brought together, we find that we are not distracted with two or four Christs, but one and one only.

For the present, we content ourselves with a brief study of the question, "Why did St. John omit the narrative of the temptation?"

We are not concerned to deny that there is a prima facie reason for its omission.

The author is avowedly establishing, by the records of the words and deeds of Jesus, that He was nothing less than the Word of God incarnate, the only begotten of the Father. The Synoptic narrative of the temptation is not in obvious harmony with such a conception.

That the author of the fourth Gospel,-intent on giving prominence to the eternal personality and divine mission of the Christ, and in giving adequate proof that He had been from the beginning "with God and was God," that He was one whom "the Father had sanctified and sent into the world,"-should have drawn a veil over this awful scene, should have feared to enter this cloud, is not without superficial justification; and that an Ephesian writer of the second century who had a theological purpose to serve should have entirely ignored it, would not, we honestly confess, surprise us. Apart from the framework of the Synoptic narrative, the bold idea therein involved of proximity on the part of the Son of God to the Evil One, the bare suggestion that deeds and emotions utterly alien to the will and plan of the Father, should have been suffered to darken, even by their momentary shadow, the divine humanity of the Holy One, might be plausibly regarded as antagonistic to the primary teaching of the fourth Gospel. Certainly the difficulty thus suggested is not to be despised by those who are ready to yield equal deference to the delineations of the first as to the fourth evangelists. Nor is this perplexity diminished by observing the period assigned by the Synoptists to this mysterious experience. It occurs in the threefold narrative, immediately after the baptism of Jesus, and after the visible descent upon Him of the Holy Spirit. So soon as the temptation was completed, and the tempter foiled and banished for a season, the Lord returned, we are told, "full of the Holy Spirit into Galilee." He then immediately commenced His active ministry, encountering the malign jealousy of His old acquaintances at Nazareth, but preaching the necessity of repentance and the near approach of the kingdom of God. We cannot identify this early ministry with that described in John i. 26-51, because a special note of time is preserved in the four Gospels which precludes it. The Baptist's ministry was not brought to an end at the time when Jesus summoned Philip, Andrew, Simon, John, and Nathanael to His side. it been as yet cruelly terminated while the scenes at Cana. in Capernaum, in Jerusalem, in Judæa were being enacted, for we read, iii. 24, "John was not yet east into prison." Yet the earliest public ministry of Jesus in Galilee which is described by the Synoptists was not commenced until after John had been imprisoned and silenced (see Matt. iv. 12). Consequently the entire series of events, the discourses, and self-revelation. which are described by St. John in chapters i.-iv., must be regarded as occupying precisely the space of time which is filled up in the Synoptic Gospels by the mention of one solitary event, viz. the strange and wonderful scene of the Many critics have regarded this juxtaposition as temptation. unmistakeable proof that the narratives cannot be of equal value, that one or other must be relinquished as unhistorical. Are we compelled to come to this conclusion? careful examination reveal in the fourth Gospel the essential elements of the typical temptation itself, and present such striking exemplification of the Spirit with which Jesus resisted it, that John's narrative may be found to exhibit in concrete form, and by the powerful illustration of fact and word, all the lessons taught by the terrible and dramatic scenes enacted alike in the wilderness, on the pinnacle of the temple, and on the high mountain? Before answering these questions, one or two preliminary remarks may be made.

- (1) The fourth Gospel is not silent concerning our Lord's conflict with "the prince of this world " (xii. 31). We learn from the life of Jesus that this mighty concentrated force of evil "cometh, and findeth nothing in Him" (xiv. 30). in the fact that a victory had been achieved over the prince of this world is solemnly declared by Christ to be one of the ends of the mission of the Comforter (xvi. 11). Gospel implicitly records the avowed purpose of the multitudes of Galilee to take Jesus by force and make Him a Messianic king (vi. 15). And a quiet hint in the Synoptic narrative (Mark vi. 45) suggests that the disciples sympathized in this unspiritual and ignorant demand. His own brethren sarcastically repudiated His Messianic claims by the feverish rebuke, "Show thyself to the world" (vii. 3); and the narrative of the hour in which Jesus confronted the power of the world in the person of the Roman governor, shows that a moment's compromise with the temptations which Pilate urged upon Him would have placed the Lord, humanly, beyond the reach of priestly malice. The fourth Gospel tells us that Jesus knew from the first that one of the twelve was "a devil" (vi. 70). Thus in various ways the most painful conditions of the temptation in the wilderness are recognised by this Gospel, for it recites His near proximity to the spirit of evil, the plausibility of some most devilish suggestions, the victory in each case over them, and an assurance that the prince of this world and the master of its glory was virtually dethroned, was condemned, and expelled from the world over which he had usurped dominion.
- (2) The testimony which the Baptist bore to Jesus when he abruptly cried, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29), is best interpreted on the supposition that the terrible experiences of the forty days had been privately communicated by the Lord Himself to His kinsman and forerunner. Who is more likely than John the Baptist to have been made the confident of

our Lord? The fiery trial which had been surmounted, established the strange, new, wonderful turn and transfiguration He was giving to the Messianic idea. Not as a thaumaturge, not with the visible axe in His hand—as the Baptist had anticipated His Messianic mission - not as a resistless conqueror, or the cloud-robed Son of God, was He about to draw all men after Him. The suffering, agonizing, dying Son of man passed before the Baptist's eye, when he obtained this revelation of the inner life of the baptizer with the Holy Ghost; and he thereupon cried, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God." Isaiah's oracle is fulfilled. The iniquity of the world will fall upon Him. Wounded, bruised, afflicted, despised, rejected. He will be led as a lamb is to the slaughter. By His stripes men will be healed. God's Lamb is He, the veritable passover Lamb of God, and He is slain already. Through dark scenes like these He will pass to His crown; through cruel death will He prolong His days. If the preliminaries of Calvary were verily enacted in the wilderness, a confidential revelation of their nature to the Baptist affords a simple and sufficient explanation of the oft-repeated cry, "Behold the Lamb of God."

But to proceed: a remarkable indication occurs that the particular group of temptations recorded in the Synoptic Gospels was neither unknown nor unappreciated by the fourth evangelist. If the group of events which John proceeds to specify as the most signal instances he could give of the earliest ministry of the Divine Lord be steadily pondered, they illustrate the suggestions of the prince of this world, and the victory over them which was achieved by our Lord.

THE FIRST TEMPTATION seizes on the suffering humanity of Jesus, when He was famished by forty days of fasting. "'If Thou be the Son of God,' as the voice from heaven has proclaimed Thee to be, 'command that these stones be made bread.' Employ Thy supernatural power for the miraculous supply of Thine own need. Thou art above the ordinary

conditions of nature, therefore triumph over Thy circum-Assert Thyself. Do not demean Thine origin by earning or begging Thy daily bread!" The reply of Jesus was, "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God." So far the Synoptists. John, however, tells us that one of the earliest incidents of our Lord's ministry brings the God-man into the jubilance of a marriage feast, where the voice of a loving temptress said to Him, "They have no wine." The virginmother longed that her royal Son should show forth His glory. by expressing in imperial tones His claim to all the riches of these vine-clad hills. Our Lord resented this intrusion upon the choice of the method, or the hour of His self-manifestation: but He did not hesitate in the royalty of His love to give to others, and to do for them what He utterly refrained from doing for Himself in His own dire extremity. None but they who drew the water knew that the Creator's hand had touched it. The governor of the feast simply attested the reality and excellence of the wine. The disciples be-They had learned a lesson of His power, but caught a deeper insight into His heart. Christ never implied that He could not or would not turn stones into bread or water into wine, but declared that the Word and the plan of His Father for Him were to give, not to grasp; to give Himself for the life of the world, for His flesh was meat indeed. His blood wine indeed, for a starving and perishing humanity.

A similar lesson is taught even more vividly in the fourth chapter of the Gospel. There we find Him, weary in the noontide heat, seated by Jacob's Well (iv. 6). Why does He who could transform water into wine for others not smite the slopes of Gerizim, and cause the running fountain to burst forth for His relief? The fourth evangelist records the affecting incident that for His own refreshment from the misery of thirst the Son of God asked an alien to supply His need: He saith to the woman of Samaria, "Give me to drink."

The pathos of the position from John's standpoint is almost infinite. There is the same physical exhaustion as in the narrative of the other scene in the wilderness. Divine energy is shown to lie latent in His will. His personal needs are as great, His self-restraint as sublime. He is content to suffer, and to cast Himself on the charity of a Samaritan. This commandment had He received of the Father. By this word of God the incarnate Word doth live.

Nor are the parallels to the principle of His victory over the devil completed here; for after a while the disciples return to Him from the city of Sychar with their store of provisions, and "they prayed Him, saying, Master, eat;" and His mysterious reply confounded them: "I have meat to eat that ye know not of. My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me, and to finish His work." Thus the fourth evangelist in luminous fashion reports a conflict with, and a victory over, the same class of temptation as that recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. "He saved others, Himself He could not save;" and "though He was rich beyond all imagination, yet for our sakes He became poor, that we through His poverty might be made rich" (2 Cor. viii. 9). It was more blessed, more God-like, to give than to receive.

THE SECOND TEMPTATION of the devil brought the Divine Lord, either in vision or reality, to the pinnacle of the temple, to the spot whence the priest watched the first gleam of sunrise over the eastern hills, in order to give the signal for the morning sacrifice. He saw the courts of the temple crowded with the early worshippers, and the riot and clamour of the priests' bazaar, and all the busy multitude intent on ritual or on gain. "Cast Thyself down (said the tempter). Commit Thy way to God, entrust Thyself to the arms of angels and to the care of Thy Father. Thou shalt not dash Thy feet against a stone."

This was not a covert plea for suicide, but a bid for power. Had Jesus yielded to this temptation, how loud would have

been the shout, "Behold, He cometh in the clouds of heaven!" The temple throng would have hailed Him at once as their Messiah king, for He would have come "suddenly to His temple," in a manner which would have annihilated His enemies, and inflamed His friends with theocratic zeal. The language of our Lord to this temptation of the evil one was another revelation of His filial reverence for God's holy providence. protested against all presumptuous trifling with the promises This superhuman method of descent upon the wondering crowd would have forfeited all His conscious hold upon the divine word. True, it might precipitate a tumultuous rebellion against the power of Rome, but His own people were suffering from a far more terrible bondage and a more humiliating yoke. Signs and wonders like these would quicken no conscience, would purify no heart. Intent on self-glory, He would have had no grasp on ancient promise, and He replied, "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." He would not trifle with the spirit of the revealing word. He would not dazzle the eyes of the multitude in His own interest, and call it faith. Presumption is not dependence, nor is vulgar amazement at the power He wielded the faith in His claims which would save a single soul from its habitual distrust of God.

Now our Lord is represented even in the fourth Gospel as resisting the forces of nature, and holding them in visible check. He walked upon the stormy wave, and laid His hand upon the bounding billow, but He did this to reassure and save His storm-tossed followers, and to deepen their nascent faith in His divine claims.

The Lord was moved at Cana and Bethsaida as He had been tempted in the wilderness to assume the headship and mastery of the old creation. Should a similar marvel be suggested simply to emancipate His own life from the hard and mysterious limitations which He had voluntarily assumed for our salvation, He would reject the suggestion with indig-

nation; yet if such acts as these by change of circumstances could become occasions for manifesting the glory of the onlybegotten of the Father, for making known the royalty of divine love to men, He never hesitated to feed the multitudes, to hush the tempest, and to raise the dead. Consequently, it would seem from John's Gospel that though temptation to enter the temple by magical means and self-glorying pride was sternly repudiated, it may have suggested another way of "suddenly coming to that temple," ablaze with the moral earnestness of one whose zeal consumed Him. The profanation of the temple courts by the huge market held there for sacrificial beasts, and also for exchanging foreign coin with the holy shekel, roused His prophetic soul. He asserted the sanctity of the temple, He drove the priestly traffickers from the sacred enclosure with words of scathing menace. He provoked the hostility of the worldly hierarchy. He encountered the first murmur of the storm which gathered ever more in dark and angry clouds, until they broke in fell fury on His own sacred head, until the temple of His body was riven in the lightning of the wrath, which the devil's advocacy would have tempted Him to placate by magical compliances, and subdue by dazzling symbols of His power. The first cleansing of the temple is the true and full response to Satan's ingenious suggestion, "If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down!"

The form and meaning of the THIRD TEMPTATION, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, derives much elucidation from the Johannine recognition of the second. "The devil taketh Him to an high mountain, to some Nebo or Gerizim height, whence he shows Him the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time: and the devil said unto Him: To Thee will I give all this authority, and the glory of them, for it hath been delivered unto the truth in this boast of the Spirit of evil, then hiding himself in the robes of an angel of light. The thrones of the world, from Nimrod to Nebuchadnezzar, from the Pharaohs to the

Cæsars, had been builded with blood, defended with ambition and avarice, though often sumptuously veiled by splendid achievement. The honours of the world-kingdoms are won still and retained by complicity with moral wrong. Even the scales of justice have been loaded. Antiquity makes respectable what conscience condemns. Those who seek to win and overtop the world have to coincide with it, and wink at its evil. The prophets of the Lord, by uncompromising front, have dashed themselves against the fortress of the world's sins and perished in the attempt, have sought to revolutionize the foundations of power and the very material of human authority, and they have failed. The prince of this world has been too strong for them; and the bad succession of power passes on from race to race, and from generation to generation. Now what is the devil's proposal and "temptation," a temptation which has a side on which the Son of God could feel it? Outspoken, put into burning words, it was, "All this will I give Thee, if Thou wilt worship me. All shall be Thine!" Who is the giver? The object of momentary worship claims to be the source of all earthly power. worship the devil as such is too terrible a blasphemy and too preposterous an absurdity to be a temptation to any being in whom conscience is not absolutely seared. That the Holy One of God should have regarded it as a temptation shows that by this worship was meant the honour due to possession and stability in human affairs. The temptation must have taken some such shape as this: "Do not commence the warfare with human disobedience by demanding fundamental changes of the ultimate and deepest sources of power. nise the authority and power of the world as it is. its follies. Compromise with existing ideas. Bear with a temple that is profaned, do not attempt to cleanse it. the priesthood as it stands. Accede to the dominant and exacting tradition. Concede the Sabbatic law, as it has been interpreted by eager legalists. All the powers of the world from Caiaphas to Tiberius, all the wealth and all the honours of every state, will be at Thy disposal, if Thou wilt worship me, if Thou wilt even allow, recognise the divinity of the world-power as it stands." When translated into any language in which it is intelligible, it is but in other words the plausible Pantheistic glorification of evil. Subtle as the temptation was, screened behind an effulgence of promise, the Son of God strips it of all disguise.

With lofty and sublime courage He calls the accuser of the holiest things by his true name: "Get thee behind me, Satan. It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." Any and every admission on His part of the legitimacy of expedient sin is resisted. No acceptance of any power but that which is based on righteousness, and no compromise with evil can be tolerated. Earthly dignity, rank, kingship, are not passports into the kingdom over which He presided. Whatever be the issue, God's will must be the supreme law of life. Such seems in brief to be the lesson of the third temptation, regarded as the devil's masterpiece, and made at the very commencement of the Lord's ministry.

The question arises, Does the fourth Gospel record at this particular epoch of Christ's life any corresponding conflict with such a view of human affairs as that which the Divine Lord contemplated and indignantly rejected in His third tempta-(a) The cleansing of the temple was an emphatic repudiation of any sacrosanct claims inherent in venerable sin. (b) An incident is recorded which more fully illustrates the same thought. A dignified ecclesiastic (chap. iii.) approached our Lord in the dead of night. He was high in social position, and of great repute. He was a Sanhedrist, a teacher of Israel, a ruler of the Jews. He came with compliment and self-importance. "We know (said he) that Thou art a teacher from God, for no man can do the signs which Thou dost except God be with him" (chap. iii. 1-3). The Sanhedrim were prepared (he implied) on their own terms, and retaining all

their high position as the rulers and teachers of the people, to admit His right, to acknowledge His mission. The startling reply of Jesus was in subtle and close harmony with the reply made to the devil, as given in the Synoptic Gospels: "Except a man be born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Utter, inmost, radical, moral revolution is indispensable to a place in the kingdom of God. No compromise with prescriptive or traditional wrong-doing is possible. A high position in the Sanhedrim, in the great family of Annas, in the Pharisaic order, or in Herod's or Pilate's Court, is not of the feeblest importance. These things will not expiate or justify a single infraction of the eternal law of righteousness. The kingdom of Messiah is not a kingdom fenced by fortresses, rich in princedoms and honours of the earth, but it consists entirely and exclusively of regenerated men. Nicodemus answered, "How can these things be?" The devil himself vanished before the tremendous thrust: "Thou shalt worship the Lord the God, and Him only shalt thou serve." (c) When our Lord was seated by the well, some analogous problems were presented to Him. The woman said: "Sir, I perceive that Thou Decide for us between the sacred nationality art a prophet." of Samaria and Judæa, between the rival claims of the sanctuary of Gerizim and of Jerusalem. Determine the authority and glory of each. Christ rose alone above the controversy between these rival nationalities, and indeed above the clashing interests of all opposing states; in the sublime reply: Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. Kingdoms of the world, sacred shrines, holy places, have no part in Messiah's kingdom. They that worship the Father must worship Him in spirit and in truth, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

The exegesis of these passages does not come within our present intention, nor is it desirable to deduce at this moment the multiform moral lessons which are suggested by this com-

parison of the principal ideas involved in the temptation, and certain incidents in the Johannine narrative. The simple co-existence of these two analogous streams of divine selfrevelation becomes profoundly suggestive. The fourth Gospel does: not. "pulverize" the Synoptic: narrative on the one hand, nor on the other does that strange and wonderful recital so stamp the life and mission of the Lord as to render the Johannine representation unhistorical. On the contrary, the story of Jesus at Cana and at Jacob's Well, the cleansing of the temple and the thunder-peal which broke over the night of Nicodemus, run in strange and undesigned harmony The fourth Gospel places with the story of the temptation. in the exact chronological position occupied by the temptation of Jesus, a series of closely-interlaced events which reproduce the temptations themselves, and repeat the victory over them. The personality of the Johannine Christ is not other than that of the Synoptists.

HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

THE appearance of this Magazine coincides with the beginning of the new publishing season. During the past three or four months, authors and publishers have been busily engaged with the work of final preparation rather than of issue. The learned societies have been keeping their usual vacation, and their members have been scattered through various lands, some to carry on calm consecutive investigation for which time is not easily to be found at any other period of the year, others to lay in new stores of strength for renewed efforts. Like the forces of Nature, which in winter are quietly rallying and concentrating themselves in order to produce the beauty of spring and the fruit of summer, the workers in literature have been spending their strength for the most part in unseen labour—labour soon, we trust, to be made manifest in products of abiding value. Under these circumstances, our glance is thrown a little farther back than it would be at another time.

Amongst recent valuable contributions to theological science, the place of honour is undoubtedly due to Canon Westcott's book on The Epistles of St. John.¹ The time occupied in its preparation carries us back to those old habits of patient, careful study in the days when that "easy writing" which is such "hard reading" was little tolerated or practised. This work is the "accomplishment of a dream of early youth," and it "has been spread over more than thirty years." We venture to predict that it will be read and valued when more than thrice thirty years are gone.

The method followed in the treatment of the Epistles is the same as that adopted for the Gospel of St. John. To the great comfort of his readers, Canon Westcott has not thought it necessary to state and discuss the manifold conflicting opinions of previous labourers in the same field—to demolish the work of others in order to raise his own building on their ruins—still less, after such unhandsome conduct, to build his own structure out of their materials. The results of his own independent and indefatigable researches are given; the lines of inquiry by which he has arrived at these results are indicated. Thus, in addition to the intrinsic value of the matter, the student has the charm and advantage

¹ The Epistles of St. John: The Greek Text, with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

of insight into the method of study adopted by one of the most successful workers of his time. Each word and form employed by the apostle has been diligently followed through its various uses, "phrases often held to be synonymous" have been compared and distinguished, the effect of each change of tense has been noted. The language of every verse has undergone rigorous scrutiny, and in this way the true meaning of the Epistle has been brought out. The great advantage of being able freely to quote and refer to the Greek text, which the author has enjoyed in this work, but from which he was unfortunately debarred to a large extent in his notes on the fourth Gospel, will be very obvious to every scholarly reader. Is it too much to indulge the hope that before long Canon Westcott will give us an edition of the Gospel, in which the previous restraints—unavoidable through his connection with the Speaker's Commentary—shall be wholly cast aside, and the full results of his study of the Greek text of the Gospel be laid opera to biblical students? Many readers would feel that their great debt of obligation to him was thereby sensibly increased.

We observe Canon Westcott hesitates to call the First Epistle a letter, on the ground that "it has no address, no subscription, no name is contained in it of person or place: there is no direct trace of the author, no indication of any special destination." reasons, which appear to be valid, he regards it as a Pastoral, addressed to those who were familiar with Christian truth, especially as it is taught in the fourth Gospel; and composed in all probability by St. John during his later years at Ephesus, in the last decade of the It is the conclusion and crown of God's written first century. message to man. As the final book of Revelation, it is the link between the first and second ages of the Christian Church. Jerusalem had by this time been laid in ruins; the temple was gone; the old order had changed, giving place to new. A period of persecution has been followed by a period of tranquillity, in which the Church enjoys "the victory which overcometh the world." Outward conflict having died away, the central doctrine of Christian truth is now the main question of debate, the Person and Work of Christ are the centre of what controversy there is. This gives occasion for the Epistle. Canon Westcott in his analysis shows that the leading thought is that of "a fellowship between God and man, made possible and in part realized in the Christian Church." He traces the development of this theme in the apostle's treatment of the three chief divisions of the Epistle:—(1) the Problem of Life, (2) the Conflict of Truth and Falsehood, (3) the Christian Life and the Victory of Faith. His summary and development of the doctrine of St. John in the three Epistles we regard as especially valuable. Before quitting the "Introduction," it may be well to remark that it manifestly presupposes on the part of the reader some acquaintance with the comprehensive, exact, and minutely careful work prefixed to the author's Commentary on the Gospel. All the sections in each, bearing upon subjects common to the two, should be read together.

The expository notes, partly characterized already, show those features of the author's work with which theological students have now grown familiar. There is the same clear spiritual insight, the same fruitful suggestiveness, the same careful exposition of each verse in its smallest details and widest connections, as well as in its direct relation to the main line of thought. Occasionally, but only very occasionally, one may be inclined to ask whether the interpretation: be not a little too subtle, and if the verse does really contain all that. the commentator sees in it. We hint this fault, however, with the greatest hesitation. For the beautiful legend of the Divine voice at-Sinai, which "each one in Israel heard according to his capacity," lingers in our recollection; and the thought of St. John is so profound and so constantly demands for its just appreciation a strong, steady, well-trained eye, that an interpretation which at first appears doubtful, may need only a closer examination to commend itself to the student. As a whole, the book is a solid and exceedingly valuable contribution to the study and exegesis of the Epistles of Love. three dissertations at the close are of the deepest interest.

The good times of "painful" study seem to be indeed coming back. Another book 1 lies before us, comprised in less than 250 pages of somewhat large type, which, according to the preface, is the fruit of more than twenty years' patient meditation, during which period the author has made repeated examinations of the philosophical doctrines he combats. We may say at once that this is Mr. Arthur's best book. From first to last it is a piece of close and sustained argument, yet the interest never flags, though the thought is often profound. The style is so lucid, the language is so remarkably free from technicalities, the illustrations are so apt and eloquently expressed, that the non-philosophical reader may follow the reasoning throughout with intelligence and pleasure. To have succeeded in delivering a direct and powerful attack upon the essential principles and arguments of the Positive Philosophy, perfectly level to the comprehension of readers of average culture, is a distinct and seasonable

¹ On the Difference between Physical and Moral Law: The Fernley Lecture of 1883. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. London: T. Woolmer. 1884.

gain to Christian apologetics. We rejoice to see the book is being widely read, as it deserves to be, and that though only a few months old it is already in the fourth thousand.

Many modern scientists and psychologists hold that "minds and bodies are both governed by laws of one and the same order," that between the physical and moral realms there is no broad vawning gulf of separation, and further, that the latter always exists in strict subordination to the former. This position, with all that it involves, Mr. Arthur assails. After distinguishing invariable laws from inviolable laws by remarking that "an invariable law means one that cannot be altered, and an inviolable law means one that cannot be broken." he adds. "So far from saying that Comte or Mill, or any of the followers of the one or the other, really believe that minds and bodies are both governed by laws of one and the same order, I must confess that with me it is to this hour a case not proven that any man could, in the silence of his own soul, ever say to himself with intelligent conviction: I do believe that discernment, judgment, and choice; that forethought, afterthought, and conception; that affection, imagination, and conscience, are governed by laws of one and the same order as weight and measure, taste and odour, colour and form." The difference may be broadly stated thus. Physical laws are invariable and inviolable, moral laws are not Not that there are strictly speaking "laws of two different orders," "for what is called law in physics is not really law in any scientific or philosophical sense, but is nothing more or less than Rule, and can be called law only in a metaphorical sense." The truth is, the term "law" has been transferred by the force of analogy from the realm of morals to the realm of physics. Corresponding to this difference between the two orders of law is the difference between the two orders of agents. The action of a physical agent is invariable, a dead certainty; the action of a moral agent is not invariable: a father, for example, may be kind or cruel, may keep or break moral law, which a physical agent can never do. Out of the two orders of law spring the different kinds of relations which are established, and which vary from relations without consciousness and reciprocal action on the part of the things related, to relation with reciprocal action and consciousness in the parties correlated of moral obligation to one another and to a higher Power. These are admirably classified and illustrated. This part of the work we would especially commend to students of Herbert Spencer's Psychology. Our space will not allow us to follow Mr. Arthur further in his line of reasoning: but we trust we have said enough to show that his book is worthy of careful

attention from all those who are engaged or interested in the controversies of our time.

From the recent issues of the Foreign Theological Library, we may single out Goebel's Parables of Jesus 1 as being one of the best. The work aims at "opening the way to a methodical treatment of the Parables in general, and to a greater certainty in their still very divergent interpretation in detail." The writer lays down the generally-accepted principle, that every single detail in a parable must not have a separate interpretation put upon it, but the main point or points of its teaching must be singled out and held fast. The difficulty, however, arises not in the principle, but in the application of it, upon which hardly any two expositors agree. Goebel's method of applying it may be gathered from the sound rules which he lays down on p. 26, and to which the reader's attention is specially directed.

We have tested the application of these rules in several crucial instances, each time to find that the author is faithful to them. book is a workmanlike production, the fruit of honest and laborious study. No useful end would be served by a comparison of this with other works on the parables, no one of which it greatly resembles. An additional book on the parables is all the better for being distinct from its predecessors. It would be easy, and we think not far from the mark, to say that in the classification of the parables Canon Westcott is more natural and suggestive, that Archbishop Trench shows a wider learning and more delicate insight, that we prefer Arnot for apt illustration and practical application to everyday modern But on the other hand, we can promise the student that whilst he may find in Trench and Arnot what is absent from this volume, he will find in this volume what he cannot obtain from the English expositors. Its distinctive excellence lies in its careful and thorough examination of the language. The teacher who will equip himself with Trench, Goebel, and Arnot will find each supplement the other two, and will be sufficiently provided with helps to the fruitful study of the parables.

FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the last number of the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, L. Meinke discusses the conception of δσιότης (holiness or piety) in the *Euthyphro* of Plato and in the New Testament.

¹ The Parables of Jesus: A Methodical Exposition. By SIEGFRIED GOEBEL. Translated by Professor Banks. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

He thinks, doubtless correctly, that the more adequate rendering of the word in Plato's use is in German Frömmigkeit, to which our piety, or perhaps the new compound religiousness, corresponds. Holiness (Heiligkeit), in our acceptation, is an inadmissible translation.

In the New Testament he distinguishes three groups of passages: (1) Those taken from the LXX. version of the Old Testament. They render τισι by δσιος, the Hebrew word denoting one who stands in the relation of hereditary privilege towards God as a member of the chosen people, Acts ii. 27 (xiii. 35), xiii. 34. (2) Passages in which δσιος is applied to God and Christ, without reference to the LXX. version, Rev. xv. 4, xvi. 5; Heb. vii. 26. Here the conception corresponds to στις, "that which lies out of the common course and order of things." (3) Passages where δσιότης is ascribed to men. In four places it is found in close connection with δικαιοσύνη, in only one without it, 1 Tim. ii. 8; 1 Thess. ii. 10; Tit. i. 8; Luke i. 75; Eph. iv. 24.

The general result of the examination is as follows:—The δσιότης of the A. V. denotes the whole moral life of the new man, while the δσιότης in Plato denotes only a small fragment of human virtue, viz. that which concerns the *Therapeia* of the gods. The conceptions are as wide apart as the Platonic and the Christian ethic; the one resting upon ἐπιστήμη, the other on the ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι.

In the same periodical, Warth and Löckle have jointly written on the ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 11; Luke xi. 3. In our Revised Version "daily bread" has been retained in the text, while in the margin we find, "Gr. our bread for the coming day."

The above writers consider that ἐπιούσιος can only be derived either from οὐσία or from ἐπιέναι. They decide for the latter, and take the word to be formed from the expression in common currency, ἡ ἐπιοῦσα. But this phrase is not to be understood as "the following day," but as the day already broken and present. See for this use Plato, Crit. p. 44, A; Aristoph. Eccl. 105. The word was formed by the writer of the First Greek Gospel, in accordance with the spirit of classical Greek. If he had meant to express the idea of daily bread, he would have used ἐφήμερος. The petition, then, is for the bread of the day now breaking or already broken. Notice is taken in this article of the views of Kielmann, L. Meyer, Kamphausen, and Rettig.

In the Zeitschrift. f. Wissenschaftliche Theologie, we discover that this same word has long lain upon the mind of Dr. H. Rönsch, who proposes a new explanation. Like the writers in the other periodical, he considers the word to have originated with the Greek editor of the First Gospel—an attempt to represent in Greek the Hebrew word סולה, sigullah, which is rendered by the LXX. περιούσιος in four places, Ex. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, by the Vulgate peculium or peculiaris. From an examination of the passages in which the Hebrew word occurs, it will be seen that it denotes the relation of the people of Israel to its Lord, who had chosen them out as a peculiar possession. Περιουσιασμός and περιποίησις are also used to render the Hebrew word. Rönsch thinks that the "Greek translator" hesitated to use περιούσιος, because he had nowhere found it applied to things, only to persons. He chose therefore, or himself formed, the like-sounding word ἐπιούσιος (= ἰδιόκτητος). The petition in question will run, according to this interpretation, "Give us this day our legitimate bread," or "our children's bread," i.e. that to which we as believers, the "people of the possession," are entitled. The writer refers, in support of his view, to the Commentary of Jerome (on Matt. vi. 11), who appears to consider ἐπιούσιος as equivalent to περιούσιος.

A VERY interesting historical article, by Professor R. Smend of Basle, on the significance of the Temple of Jerusalem in the Old Testament religion, forms part of the contents of the last Studien u. Kritiken. One of the youngest sanctuaries of Israel in the land, it gradually obtained, through historical circumstances, its high importance. Dynastic united with political motives in the foundation of David. But to explain how the youngest sanctuary of Israel came in later times to pass for the only true sanctuary, beside which no other was tolerated, is no easy task; since it is connected with the decision of the question whether the rise of the so-called priestly codex of the Pentateuch, which presupposes the sole legitimacy of Jerusalem, can be referred to the præ-prophetic time. The writer dwells on the high place assigned to the temple by Amos and Isaiah, and the connection of this with their prophecy of the overthrow of Israel, and the preservation of Judah. Judah and Israel stand or fall with their temples; and it was the events of the eighth century—the fall of the kingdom of Ismel and the northern sanctuaries—which left Judah and her temple without a rival. From the fall of Samaria in 722, and the deliverance of Jerusalem in 701, the temple continued to rise in the reverence and esteem of the people, until at last it became the only canctuary. The influence of Isaiah worked strongly in this direction; and the belief in the

future of Judah found expression in the persuasion of the unique and eternal glory of Mount Zion. With this centralization of the worship was connected the reforming efforts of the prophets, and the fall of the high places of idolatry. Under Josiah purer ideas of worship obtained; the sacrifices were limited and altered in character; and the temple became a house of prayer in spirit and in truth. The revival of idolatry after Josiah's death did not cause the belief in the peculiar sanctity of Zion to pass away; and the manner in which Jeremiah ventured to speak of "this house" nearly cost him his life. The fall of the temple was the triumph of the prophetic spirit, which looked for a higher manifestation of the presence of God. After the fall of the temple, where was Jehovah? The question occupies the imagination of Ezekiel, chaps, viii.-xi, and xliii. The chariot of Cherubim is like a moveable temple: in this chariot He leaves the holy place, in it He will return to the new temple. Meanwhile He is on the mountain of gods, in the land of Eden, i. 4. passes on to the return from exile, and the post-exilian time, the piety of which finds its reflection in numerous songs of the Psalter, to the examination of which, in their bearing on the temple, several pages are devoted. Finally, the decline of the second temple during the last centuries before its destruction is dwelt upon. In Holy Scripture, the law and prophets, the wisdom of the synagogue and the schools, men found a surer basis for the permanence of Judaism than the visible temple on Mount Zion could afford.

PASTOR H. ZIEGLER, under the title "Light and Shade in the 'Christian Church of the Second Century," has something to say in mitigation of Hausrath's judgments in his essay on that period in his Kleine Schriften. Hausrath is disposed to take the part of the Pagans against the Christians. He thinks that the traditional account of persecutions and martyrdoms is characterized by great Further, that the Christians in part deservedly exaggeration. suffered for their rebellion against law, their contemptuous and provoking attitude towards the old Greeco-Roman culture, the spiteful and unfair tone of their apologies. Nor were the counter-attacks on the usages and the morality of the Christians altogether without foundation. Ziegler replies that Hausrath has fallen into the like error to that of the Fathers, whom he criticises. He paints a picture of the time with too violent contrasts of light and shadow; while they placed Christianity only in the light, and heathen culture in the shade, he would reverse this relation. As usual, the truth must

¹ Berlin, 1883.

lie somewhere between these extremes; and the picture needs to be painted afresh with a more delicate regard to that chiaro-oscuro in which the figures move, in these great battle-scenes of the past. Generalizations on such a subject can be of little value; and to represent the Christians as adorned with all the virtues, their heathen opponents as having a monopoly of all the vices, is to indulge in romantic fiction, rather than in historic contemplation. Hausrath admits the intense sincerity of the humblest Christian apologete: "He believed in his religion with every fibre of his heart." Yet he "had no notion whatever of the duty of truthfulness;" no Asiatic Ziegler, on the other hand, points to the profound dissimulation and hypocrisy of Roman statesmen and priests, their deliberate policy of deception of the people in matters of religion; and cites from Justin and Clement passages which show that their contention was against those who put "custom before truth." To the charge that the apologetes wilfully misunderstood, or took no pains to understand, the ancient religious mythology, some well-known passages are cited, which prove that, while a critical appreciation of that symbolic lore was not to be expected from the Fathers in a time when even the heathen had for the most part forgotten its meaning, nevertheless they were not blind to the truth which had grown up on the soil of Greece and Rome. Justin declared that the teachings of Plato and the Stoics were the effects of the same Logos who was incarnate in Christ; and those who had lived μετὰ λόγου, as Socrates and Heracleitos, were Christians. And then there is the memorable dictum of St. Augustine in his latest work, the Retractationes: "That which is now called Christianity existed among the ancients, and failed not from the beginning of the human flesh; from which time men began to call the true religion, already in existence, the Christian." It is difficult to harmonize this position with the general tone of St. Augustine's polemical writings.

On the whole, the facts of the period produce a very mixed impression. It seems a profitless thing to go to the history of the second century to find materials for inflaming party zeal of the present time; studied with candour and from the opposite points of view of the Pagan and the Christian, it must always yield lessons of moderation and toleration in reference to modern controversies.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Literary communications to be sent to the EDITOR, The Vicarage, Dartmouth; and Books for review to Messrs. T. & T. CLARK, Edinburgh, or to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., London.

Under no circumstances can rejected manuscripts be returned.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

2. Christ's Attitude towards the Mosaic Law.

THE first impression produced by a perusal of the Evangelic records with reference to this topic, is one of surprise at the reticence of Christ regarding a subject of such importance. We might have expected Him to say distinctly whether Jewish law and custom were to prevail in the kingdom that was coming; whether, e.g., the rite of circumcision was or was not to be observed in the new era. Yet throughout the whole range of His utterances, as recorded in the Synoptical Gospels, Jesus does not once mention circumcision.

While maintaining silence regarding that particular rite of fundamental importance in the old Covenant, Jesus on one or two occasions expressed Himself in general terms concerning His relation to the Mosaic Law, and that in a manner which does not seem to harmonize with the idea of the kingdom sketched in our last paper. The chief of these utterances is the well-known passage in the Sermon on the Mount, in which the Preacher declares that He is come, not to do away with the Law and the Prophets, but rather to fulfil them. He speaks as if He were conscious that an opposite role would be expected of Him, and desired as early as possible to correct the misapprehension. "Think not I came to destroy." With solemn emphasis He goes on to affirm that while heaven and earth last the minutest particle of the law shall remain valid, till all things be accomplished. Then, as if to ensure for the declaration a permanent lodgment in the minds of His hearers, He asserts the inferiority of the destroyer of any existing laws, however unimportant, to the man who inculcates and keeps the laws great and small; and the little esteem in which the one is held in the kingdom of heaven in



comparison with the other.¹ The whole passage seems to teach that the laws of Moses, without exception or distinction, are to be observed while the world endures. Hence Baur, despairing of interpreting the words in accordance with what he believed to be the real attitude of Jesus, came to the conclusion that they do not give a correct account of what the Speaker said, and sums up his discussion of them in these terms: "As Jesus did not in fact confirm the ritual law, and as, on the other hand, if He did not intend to confirm it, He could not have expressed himself in such a way as to its enduring validity, the only course left us is to assume that His words received from the Evangelist a Judaistic bias which they had not as they came from His mouth." ²

There are, however, some features of this same utterance, even as it stands, which provoke reflection, and suggest the doubt whether our first impression of its meaning be correct. Does not the repudiation of an intention to destroy imply a consciousness that the effect of His work is to be such as may appear a destroying in the eyes of many? Then why say of one who by word or deed sets aside any of the commandments that he is the least in the kingdom of heaven; instead of saying of him, as of the Pharisee, that he cannot enter the kingdom: the position taken up by the conservative party in the Apostolic Church when they said to the Gentile Christians, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved." It seems as if it were not a question of mere destroying, but rather of the right way of doing it, and as if the attitude of the Preacher were something like this! He was aware that His appearance on the stage of history might bring about a crisis in reference to the law, and inaugurate a new era in which much would be changed. But He was conscious at the same time that He came not in the spirit of a destroyer, full of headlong zeal against rude imperfect statutes and antiquated customs, but rather in the spirit of profoundest reverence for ancient institutions, be-

¹ Matt. v. 17-20. ² Neutestamentliche Theologie. ³ Acts xv. 1.

lieving that everything in the law, down to its minutest rules had a meaning and value in the system of religion and morals to which it belonged, and not doubting that the least important of the commandments could not, any more than the most weighty, pass away till their purpose had been fulfilled. Coming in this spirit, He felt entitled to repudiate abrogation as an aim, whatever of that nature might come in the way of necessary effect. He had no taste for the work of a mere destroyer, no inclination towards the vocation of a legal reformer demanding the abolition of this or the other particular statute or custom as no longer useful, no sympathy with the iconoclastic zeal which rushes passionately at abuses, bent on demolishing, and heedless what may come in the idol's place. For those who pursued such an occupation He had not unqualified esteem, though they might be very conscientious; nor did He think they would take a high place in Were the question put, "Who is the the kingdom of God. greatest in the kingdom?" He would certainly not say, the mere reformer or destroyer. He should esteem him the least. whoever might be the greatest: greater than him He should account the man who honestly did all things enjoined, and taught others to do them. Him He called great in the kingdom.

Great, but be it observed not even he is called the greatest. That place is reserved for one who not merely does the commandments and teaches respect for them, but fulfils them, realizes in Himself all their meaning, and only so, if at all, brings about the annulment of any. Thus we get an ascending scale of moral worth. The Pharisee, the man of form, who cares more for the little than for the great commandments, has no moral worth, and is not in the kingdom at all. The reformer who has a keen eye for abuses, who is impatient of laws whose utility is doubtful, and urgently calls for change when he thinks it is greatly needed, is of some worth; he is in the kingdom, though not occupying a high place there. The man who spends not his energies in attacking abuses, but puts

¹ Matt. v. 20.

his heart into all duties, and so redeems from formality the minutest details of conduct, and teaches others so to live, is of greater worth; is not only in the kingdom, but a person of consideration there. Finally, he who not only does, but fulfils,—
that is, by his life-work inaugurates a new time that shall be the ripe fruit towards which the old time with its institutions was tending; and so satisfies the hearts of the children of the new time that without formal abrogation much that belonged to the old shall be allowed eventually to fall quietly into desuetude: this one is the greatest in the kingdom, the man of absolute moral worth.

This interpretation of the remarkable saying in question is at least legitimate, if not the only one conceivable. interpretation, doubtless, which but for the light of subsequent events, we might not have thought of. The idea of a distinction between doing and fulfilling, or of a fulfilling which may at the same time be more or less an undoing, is one we take not out of the mere words, but out of history. We know that there is a fulfilling which is at the same time an undoing at all critical periods, and we bring our knowledge as a help to the interpretation of words spoken by one who has proved to be the greatest of all Initiators, and conclude that the very claim to fulfil involves a virtual intimation of eventual antiquation to a greater or less extent. More than this we cannot make of the solemn declaration on the Mount. cannot learn from it what in Law or Prophets should, in being fulfilled, be at the same time annulled. By the nature of the case, such information was excluded, because to give such information, and say, e.g., "circumcision must ere long pass away," would have been to belie the position taken up, and to exchange the high vocation of a fulfiller for the comparatively low vocation of a reformer. For the same reason we ought not to expect explicit information of that kind-a list of laws marked like trees in a forest to be cut down. anywhere in Christ's teaching. The utmost we can look for is hints, incidental indications showing like straws in what

direction the stream of tendency was flowing. Such indications are not wanting; indications which confirm the interpretation given of the text in the Sermon on the Mount, and help us also to determine for ourselves in what respects Christ in fulfilling was at the same time to annul.

The very silence of Christ concerning the fundamental rite of the old Covenant is, as Reuss has remarked, very significant. Its import is, indeed, ambiguous; it might be held to mean that Christ never thought of calling in question the perpetual obligation of circumcision. But it is hard to credit this while reading the golden sentences wherewith the Sermon on the Mount opens, and in which are set forth the requirements for citizenship in the kingdom of heaven. The qualifications specified are exclusively spiritual. The Beatitudes take us away into an entirely different world from that of ritualism. We can hardly imagine Jesus uttering these words: Blessed are the poor, the meek, the pure, the peacemakers, the persecuted, with the mental reservation, "provided always that they be Israelites and circumcised." We cannot help feeling that the kingdom must be wider than Israel, and its blessings independent of merely external and ritual conditions. The rite by which men became members of the theocratic commonwealth is quietly ignored.

Another significant hint that in the new kingdom the ceremonial law at least was destined to fall into desuetude may be found in the words spoken by Jesus when His disciples were blamed for neglecting customary ritual ablutions before eating: "Hear me all of you, and understand: there is nothing from without a man that going into him can defile him, but the things which proceed out of a man are those that defile a man." By this emphatic utterance Jesus in effect, as Baur remarks, declared the observation of the Mosaic laws of purification to be something morally indifferent. It is true, indeed, that the fault imputed to the disciples had not been disregard of the Mosaic ritual law, but neglect of the traditions

¹ Mark vii. 14, 15. Matthew's version (xv. 10, 11) is less emphatic.

of the elders relating to ablutions which were designed to form a hedge about the law, and ensure its strict observance. But it is manifest that the word addressed to the people enunciates a principle whose range of application is much wider than these traditions, and which, when it has got a firm hold of the popular mind, must in the end lead to the nonobservance of the Mosaic laws of purification, as well as of the rules superadded by the Rabbis. That it was taken in this wide scope in the apostolic church, and specially in the circle of which Peter formed the centre, may be inferred from the reflection appended by the second evangelist to the explanation of His own saying given by Christ to the disciples: "This he said, making all meats clean." 1 however, been maintained of late that the saying of Jesus to the multitude is parabolic, and that it must be understood as referring throughout to things belonging to the physical The things that proceed out of a man are not, as in the subsequently given interpretation, moral offences, but matters discharged from the body whether in health, in diseases like leprosy, or in death. These, not the eating of forbidden meats, defiled in the Levitical sense, and it was against the defiling influence of these that the Mosaic rules of purification were directed. The effect, therefore, of Christ's saying was to condemn the Pharisaic additions as plants which God had not planted, but to confirm the obligation of the Mosaic laws of purification as of divine authority.2 This is ingenious but not convincing. If Christ meant to tell the multitude that ceremonial defilement proceeded from matters discharged from the body, not from the kind of food taken, it is difficult to see why in the subsequent conversation with His disciples He gave a spiritual turn to the thought, and made the things which proceed out of a man, evil thoughts, fornications, thefts, and the like. Why not rather explain to them, the future apostles, His exact position on the topic

¹ Mark vii. 19, last clause, according to the approved reading, which substitutes καθαρίζων for καθαρίζου.

² Weiss, Leben Jesu, ii. p. 116.

raised by Pharisaic criticism, viz. that what He condemned was simply Rabbinical additions to Mosaic rules, and that He believed in the perpetual obligation of the latter? The reference to the moral evils proceeding from the heart lifts the whole subject above the level of ceremonialism, and irresistibly conveys the impression that, in the view of the Speaker, the only cleanness and uncleanness that are real and worth minding are those which arise from morally right and wrong feelings and actions.

A third straw showing the direction of the stream of tendency may be found in the words spoken by Jesus in Peræa towards the close of His ministry concerning the Mosaic statute of divorce: "Moses out of regard to the hardness of your heart suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so." It was a distinct declaration that this particular law was a concession on the part of the Jewish legislator to a rude moral condition, and a departure from the primitive ideal. In Mark's narrative, the conversation between Christ and His captious interrogators is so arranged that there is less of the appearance of calling inquestion the authority of Moses than in Matthew's version of the incident. The first evangelist makes Christ, in answer to His interrogants, at once announce the original law of marriage as ordained by God at the creation, whereby Moses seems to be set in antagonism to the Creator, as ordaining an inferiorlaw, though not without excuse in the moral condition of his In the account given by the second evangelist, on the other hand,2 Jesus meets the question put by the Pharisees with another, What did Moses command you? It is possible that He meant thereby to hint that Moses had given more than one law on the subject, regarding the primitive law in Genesis as his, not less than the law in Deuteronomy. that case he merely appealed from Moses to Moses; from what Moses allowed under pressure of circumstances, to what Moses must have known, if, as all Jews believed, he was the

¹ Matt. xix. 8.

author of the five books, and doubtless approved as the ideally perfect law concerning the relation of the sexes. Nevertheless, assuming Mark's version to be the more accurate, and the drift of Christ's argument to be as indicated, the fact remains that the Deuteronomic statute regulating, and by implication sanctioning divorce for other reasons besides adultery, was explicitly declared to be a statute "not good," adapted to the *sklerokardia* of Israel. And as that statute did not stand alone, but was only a sample of many of the same kind, the general position was virtually laid down that the whole Mosaic civil code was far from perfect, and consequently could not be permanently valid, but must pass away in that kingdom where the *sklerokardia* is removed, and is replaced by the "new heart."

From these indications of Christ's attitude towards the ceremonial and civil laws of Moses, we pass to inquire what position He assumed in reference to what we are wont to call the "moral" law, that is, the Decalogue. The interest here concentrates on the institution of the weekly rest, which, some think, ought to be included in the same category as circumcision, maintaining also that it was actually so regarded by Jesus. We shall here go into the question so far only as is necessary to ascertain how far the latter allegation is correct. And we begin with the observation that it is antecedently unlikely that Jesus would treat circumcision and the Sabbath as in all respects of the same nature. They were certainly not so treated under the law. For though circumcision was of fundamental importance in the covenant between Jehovah and Israel, yet it was not thought necessary to put it among the Ten Words; whereas the law of the Sabbath does find a place there along with precepts generally admitted to be ethical in their nature, and therefore of perpetual obligation Why is this? Apparently because in their substance.

¹ See on the above topic Weiss in his *Leben Jesu*, and also in his two works on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. He contends for the accuracy of Mark's version, and does his utmost to minimize the significance of Christ's words as a criticism on Mosaic legislation.

circumcision concerned Israel alone, whereas in the Ten Words it was intended that that only should find a place which was believed to concern all mankind. The Decalogue wears the aspect of an attempt to sum up the heads of moral duty, put in a form, and enforced with reasons, it may be, adapted to the history and circumstances of the chosen race, but in their substance concerning not Jews only, but men in general. Speaking of the Decalogue as the work of Moses, we may say that from it we learn what in his judgment all men ought to do in order to please God, and live wisely and happily. And we can see for ourselves that circumcision and the Sabbath are in important respects entirely different insti-Circumcision was purely ritual, a mere arbitrary sign or symbol, a mark set on Israel to distinguish and separate her from the heathen peoples around. But the Sabbath was essentially a good thing. Rest from toil is good for the body, and rest in worshipful acknowledgment of God as the Maker and Preserver of all is equally good for the spirit. Rest in both senses is a permanent need of man in this world, and a law prescribing a resting day as a holiday and holy day is a beneficent law, which no one having a regard to human wellbeing can have any wish to abrogate.

Turning now to the Gospel records: do we find Jesus speaking of the Sabbath as, say, of ritual washings—i.e. as a thing morally indifferent, whose abolition would be no real loss to men? We do not. On the contrary, we find Him invariably treating the institution with respect, as intrinsically a good thing; and His quarrel with the Pharisees on this head was not as to observance, but as to the right manner of observing the law. The Pharisees made the day not a boon, but a burden; not a day given by God to man in mercy, but a day taken from man by God in an exacting spirit. Having this idea of the weekly rest in their minds, they naturally made it as burdensome and irksome as possible, not a delight but a horror, giving ridiculously minute definitions of work, and placing the merit of Sabbath-keeping in mere abstinence

from work so defined, apart altogether from the nature of the With this Pharisaic idea of the Sabbath, and the manner in which it was worked out in practice, Jesus had no He conceived of the institution not as a burden, but as a boon; not as a day taken from man, but as a day given to him by a beneficent Providence. This idea he expressed in a remarkable saying, found, curiously enough, only in Mark, but doubtless a most authentic apostolic tradition: "The Sabbath was made on account of man, not man on account of He meant to say that God appointed the the Sabbath."1 Sabbath for man's good, and that it must be so observed as to realize the end originally contemplated; men must not be made the slaves of the Sabbath as they were by the Pharisaic method of interpreting and enforcing the statute. This being His meaning, He consistently said, the Sabbath was made for man, not the Sabbath was made for Jews, so giving the saying One who so thought of the institution a universal character. could have no interest in its abolition. He would rather desire to extend the benefit, and he would favour only such changes as might be needful to make the benefit as great and as widereaching as possible. Accordingly, Jesus did not propose to abolish the beneficent institute. He did, indeed, claim lordship over the Sabbath day. But He claimed it not with a view to abolition, but in order to give full effect to the principle that the Sabbath was made for man, that is, for his good, and to emphasize the true motive of observance, love, the supreme law of His kingdom. In other words, Christ's claim of lordship was a claim of right to humanize the Sabbath, in opposition to the Pharisees who had Rabbinized it, and made it a snare to the conscience and a burden to the spirit.

An esteemed writer has given an entirely different interpretation to the sayings recorded by Mark, according to which Christ meant to draw a distinction between the laws that are of permanent validity and those that are transient, including the Sabbath in the latter category. The permanent laws are those

¹ Mark ii. 27.

which are an end for man, the transient are those which have man for their end. The former set forth man's chief end—the moral ideal; the latter are merely means subservient to some temporary human interest. We gravely doubt the soundness of the construction thus put on our Lord's words. And as for the distinction taken between two sorts of laws, it depends on the respect in which a law has man for its end, whether it be of a temporary character or otherwise. If a law have man for its end, in the sense of having for its aim his highest wellbeing, then it is not transient, even on the principle enunciated by the author referred to, for in that case it is at the same time an end for man. The moral ideal and man's highest happiness coincide. On this view there is no good reason for the Sabbath passing away. It is made for man, doubtless, but not in the sense in which the statute of divorce was made. The latter was an accommodation to man's moral weakness, the former was instituted to promote man's physical and spiritual. wellbeing, and it is fitted to serve that end in perpetuity. The kingdom of God therefore cannot frown on the Sabbath as it must frown on the concession made by Moses to the rude moral condition of Israel in the matter of marriage. regard the day of rest with favour, even if it looked on it as an outside institution, and not of strictly ethical contents; wherever the spirit of the kingdom prevails, the general desire will be not for its abolition but for its retention. Christianity countenances the Sabbath just as, and on the same general ground that it discountenances slavery. Even as, though not formally condemning slavery, yet being hostile to it, as injurious to the moral dignity of man, the Christian religion surely tended towards its abolition; so, though not formally decreeing the perpetuating of a seventh day rest, yet being favourable to it as promotive of man's wellbeing, the Christian religion surely tended from the first towards the perpetuation and the extension of the blessings it conferred throughout the world.

Quite in accordance with the view we have given of our Ritschl, Die Entstehung des Altkatholischen Kirche, p. 30.

Lord's attitude towards the Sabbath was the manner of His defence against the Pharisaic charge of Sabbath-breaking. He did not admit that He and His disciples were Sabbathbreakers, but took up the ground that their conduct was in accordance with the Sabbath law rightly interpreted. correct view of the Sabbath being that it was meant to be a boon, not a burden—that it was made for man's benefit—the right observance was that which best promoted the end aimed at-man's good; the wrong that which frustrated the design, and turned a boon into a burden. In applying this principle to His own works of healing, Jesus said: not, It is permissible to do any sort of work on the Sabbath, for the law is no longer binding; but, It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath.1 In defence of His disciples, who, according to current ideas, had been guilty of working in rubbing the ears of corn (it was a kind of thrashing!), Jesus reminded the faultfinders of God's word: "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," and told them that had they laid to heart the divine oracle they should not have condemned the guiltless.2

It remains to add that Christ's favourable attitude towards the Sabbath becomes all the more significant when it is contrasted with the free position He took up in reference to the civil and ceremonial law. Had He, as some think, been an indiscriminate conservative, treating with equal reverence all parts of the Mosaic system, His respect for the day of rest would have been no argument in favour of its perpetuity. That institution might have been doomed, notwithstanding, to pass away, like circumcision, with the old Jewish world to which both alike belonged. But when we find one who could freely criticise venerable customs resting on the authority of the Hebrew legislator, in the light of the new era, so careful to clear Himself of all suspicion of irreverence towards the fourth commandment, we cannot help feeling that the rest therein enjoined does not altogether belong to the old world about to pass away, but is worthy to find a place in the new

¹ Matt. xii. ² Matt. xii. 7.

order of things. There may be a sense in which, as Paul taught, the Sabbath belonged to the era of shadows; but there must be a sense also in which it belongs to the era of spiritual realities.

Of the other precepts of the Decalogue Christ ever spoke respectfully as enjoining duties incumbent on all; as when He said to the young ruler, " If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," enumerating the first four of the second table to illustrate His meaning. But, while recognising the perpetual obligation of these commandments, He preferred to sum up duty in the one comprehensive word Love: "Love God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." these two commands, said He, hung all that the law required and the prophets taught. The originality of the saying lay not in the mere words, for they occur in the Pentateuch, but in the new emphasis put upon it. Because of that Jesus was, and claimed to be, a fulfiller, in the pregnant sense, of the Decalogue in particular, as of the law and prophets in general. In the Sermon on the Mount He illustrated the sense in which He claimed to be a fulfiller by taking up successively several precepts of the Decalogue, and insisting, in connection with each, not on the outward act of obedience only, but on conformity of inward disposition to the principle embodied in the The law said, "Thou shalt not kill," and when men abstained from taking away each other's lives, the law, as a code for the government of a nation, was satisfied. the Preacher said, "Whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment;" so interdicting not only murder but hatred, not only violent deeds but wicked passions. Thus He transformed a law of the Decalogue into a law of the divine kingdom.

The result of our inquiry then is this: Christ came to fulfil the law of the Ten Words by going back with new emphasis on its great underlying principle—love to God and to man; He came to fulfil the meaning, and not immediately, but as foreknown eventual result, to annul the obligation of the

ceremonial law by putting substance in place of shadow, spiritual reality in place of ritual emblem; He came to antiquate the civil law by removing the *sklerokardia*, and raising up a race who should be able to order their lives according to a higher ideal. All this he did, however, after the manner of a prophet rather than after the manner of a legislator. He came not to be a rival to Moses, but to originate a new life which should be *self-legislative*.

When we consider the manner in which the hints, whereon the foregoing induction is founded, were given, we see how truly Christ could say, "I came not to destroy." They were uttered for the most part in self-defence. It seems as if, had He been left alone, He would have been content to introduce the new life, and leave it to create for itself congenial habitudes without giving any indication what these were to be. As it was, He said no more than was barely necessary to defend Himself against accusers. In spite of much provocation, at the very last, He counselled the people to give heed to the teaching of the scribes who sat in Moses' seat, bidding them only beware of their practice. He would not on any account be irritated into becoming a stirrer up of discontent, or an agitator against existing customs, or a hot-headed leader of zealots bent on overturning an ancient social and religious system. All things considered, therefore, the conclusion, well expressed by Baur, must be accepted as just, that while Jesus introduced into some of His expressions what might form the ground of an opposition on principle, not only against the prescriptions of the Pharisees, but even against the continued absolute validity of the law, He did not wish to come to an open breach, but left the development of the opposition already existing in implicit form, to the spirit of His doctrine. which must of itself lead eventually thereto.

In view of this conclusion we are able to understand that saying of Christ concerning the Baptist, which has been somewhat of a puzzle to interpreters: "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the

Baptist; notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom is greater than he." 1 We are not obliged to have recourse to the ingenious construction put by Chrysostom on the last part of the sentence: "I, Jesus, who as yet am less than John in public esteem, am greater than he in the kingdom of heaven, though not in the judgment of the world." Keeping in mind the great word in the Sermon on the Mount, wherein the Preacher defined His relation to the legal economy, and expressed His judgment in reference to diverse types of character, we have no difficulty in seeing the truth and point of this saying, viewed as a declaration that one occupying a comparatively humble place in the kingdom of heaven was greater than John, supremely great though he was in his own line. For John was in tendency and temper a destroyer, not indeed with reference to Mosaic institutions, but with reference to the actual religious life of his time. He lived the life of a hermit in the wild, taking no part apparently in the temple services, through an unconquerable disgust at prevailing hypocrisy. He denounced the Pharisees, whom he saw on the outskirts of the crowd that gathered around Him by the Jordan, as a generation of vipers. He declared that the axe was already at the root of the tree ready to hew down an unproductive vine. He proclaimed the approach of one who with fan in hand should separate wheat from chaff, and burn the chaff in unquenchable fire. And when the coming One had come, and had been long enough at work to show the manner of His working, John, now a prisoner, doubted whether He were after all the Man he had looked for. Because he saw no axe or fan in His hand. He heard reports of deeds of mercy, and of gracious words spoken unto the poor, but he heard no reports of deeds of judgment. was too genial a Messiah for his taste. The method of Jesus was also too leisurely for the prophet's ardent temperament. Assuming that He had the same general end in view as himself-a kingdom of righteousness-He was far too tolerant

¹ Matt. xi. 11.

in His spirit. John desiderated an immediate crisis or catastrophe. Separate the good from the bad, destroy the bad and make the good, like Noah's family, the nucleus of a new godly nation. Simple, thoroughgoing programme, most satisfactory to a prophet's earnest temper! But no such programme did Jesus seem to have. He went about in Galilee doing all the good He could, and left the religious world of Judea, of whose hollowness He was well aware, to Therefore John stood seriously in doubt of go its own way. Him. And this doubt of John's is one of the most convincing proofs that his kingdom of God and that of Christ were not the same thing. There can be no greater mistake in the interpretation of the Gospel history than to explain away that doubt, or to minimize its significance. It is an index showing how wide apart in idea and spirit were the two great ones, who nevertheless were fellow-workers for God and righteousness among their people. That Christ did not under-estimate its significance the saying now under consideration proves. He divined what was passing through the prophet's mind when He sent the message of inquiry, and He said in effect: "John is great, none greater of his kind, a true hero of moral law, who has braved the wrath of earth's mighty ones, and told them their duty, regardless of consequences. honour him though he now stand in doubt of me. Yet John is a one-sided, defective man. Strong in zeal, he is weak in love; strong in denunciation of evil, he is weak in patience towards the sinful; strong in moral austerity, he is weak in the social sympathetic affections. In these respects any one in the kingdom of heaven animated by its characteristic spirit of love and patient hope is greater than he."

In so speaking of John, Christ, it is hardly necessary to remark, did not mean to shut him out of the kingdom, though an impression to the contrary constitutes for many the chief difficulty of the saying. Possibly the use of the comparative—the less in the kingdom—indicates a desire to avoid the appearance of such an intention. But even taking the com-

parative as having the force of a superlative, the exclusion of John from the kingdom is to be understood simply in the sense that John had not identified himself openly with the movement of which Jesus was the centre. That was a simple matter of fact. John was intensely interested in the kingdom; he had laboured for it as a pioneer; he had announced its near approach; he prayed daily for its coming. But his conception of the kingdom differed so widely from the kingdom as it actually appeared in the person of Jesus and the society that gathered around Him, that he was not able to give the reality a hearty welcome; he stood aloof, a doubting, puzzled spectator, wondering what it might all mean.

So understood, Christ's judgment of the Baptist confirms our interpretation of the text in the Sermon on the Mount. and throws light on the attitude of the Messianic King towards established law and custom. The Inaugurator of the new era declined the part which His forerunner had assigned to Him-declined to adopt as His insignia the axe and the fan, and to come before the world as the embodiment of divine disgust and fury. He preferred to appear as One "full of grace and truth." He knew well that the axe and the fan were needed, but He did not believe in the Baptist's method of reaching the desired end. His way was not that of reform but of regeneration, not of judgment but of mercy, not of impatience and intolerance and rupture, but of quiet, silent influence, leading slowly but surely to the new creation, bringing it in noiselessly, gradually, like the dawn of day. Ultimately the kingdom was to bring about much more extensive change than John was prepared for; but the means were to be, not the axe and the fan, but the vital force of a new life, the fermentation of the new wine. The bottles of Judaism must burst some day, but what need for passionately tearing them to pieces? The wine will do the work, in good time, of itself.

ALEX, B. BRUCE.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I. 4.

Ver. 4. "Who was determined to be God's Son in power in respect of His spirit of holiness by His resurrection from the dead." It is difficult to mould into idiomatic English the strongly condensed details of the apostle's Greek. They stand in antithesis to the genealogical statement of the preceding verse, and, in conjunction with that statement, form an exceptionally rich and far-reaching Christological episode in the superscription of the Epistle. Servetus said that it was "a passage which had never been understood" (locus nunquam intellectus, DE TRINITATIS ERRORIBUS, fol. 54). Jowett says that the verses are among "the most difficult in the Epistles of St. We cannot," he avers, "express their meaning adequately, we can only approach it." Yet we should distinguish between the apostle's statements and the great realities concerning which they were made. These latter may stretch to infinity beyond our comprehension; but the former we may hope to apprehend and understand, if they were intended by him, as undoubtedly they were, to be intelligible and perspicuous. Not only then was our Saviour a descendant of King David, He was God's Son. That was a far higher and most august genealogical relationship. He had no other father than God. But still He was more than simply God's Son, He was God's Son in power. Such is the natural connection of the phrase in power, as was recognised by Melancthon in his day, and also by Baumgarten-Crusius, Philippi, Mehring, Hofmann, Many expositors, indeed, suppose, with Luther, that it should be construed with the foregoing participle, powerfully

determined or marked out. But this construction lifts the phrase out of its natural connection, and involves, besides, an incongruity of representation. A boundary should be distinct rather than powerful. Moreover, and in particular, it is a fact that our Saviour is God's Son in power, i.e. God's Son living and moving and having His being in an element of power. The construction is analogous to that of such expressions as "a man in Christ" (2 Cor. xii. 2); "a man under authority" (Matt. viii. 9); "a faithful minister in the Lord" (Eph. vi. 21); "a son in faith" (1 Tim. i. 2). The idea bodied forth is peculiarly pertinent. It was requisite that Jesus should be possessed of power. A Saviour must be "able" to save. The apostle himself, like so many other sons of God, was subject to varied infirmities, which made him most sensitively dependent on the grace and power of the Saviour. "my grace," said Jesus to him, "is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect in weakness." "Most gladly therefore," continues the apostle, "will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me" (2 Cor. xii. 9). He says again, out of the midst of the consciousness of his dependence and weakness, "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me," who imparts to me His power (ἐνδυναμοῦντί με, Phil. iv. 13). Christ is "the power of God" (1 Cor. i. 24). As such He is "able (δύναται) to save to the uttermost" (Heb. vii. 25). His sceptre is "a rod of power" (δυνάμεως, see Ps. cx. 2). If need be, it can be "a rod of iron" (Ps. ii. 9). His power was of old exerted through His disciples in the working of miracles of mercy (Acts iii. 12-16). It still is often experienced in ethical results, which are akin to moral miracles. It was meet that all power should belong to our Lord, when all authority in heaven and on earth was to be committed to His hands. ----who was determined to be God's Son in power. idea of demarcation or of something determinant is inherent in the nature of the apostle's participle (ὁρισθέντος).

limiting line like the "horizon" clearly marked off our Saviour from all other beings as God's Son in power. ing over to a slightly different rail of representation, we might say with the Greek expositors, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, that our Saviour was "demonstrated" to be God's Son in power. This is a much more forcible rendering than that of King James's translators. declared; and yet, in giving their rendering, they only walked in the footsteps of such able exegetes as Erasmus, Tyndale, Beza, and the authors of the Geneva version. It should be noticed that there is no conjunctive particle standing at the commencement of the verse, and formally uniting the two branches of the apostle's antithesis. The two statements thus go forth abreast, and "the effect of this is to bring each notion forward distinctly and emphatically " (Jelf, 467. 5). ----according to spirit of holiness. There is a manifest antithesis to the expression according to flesh in the preceding verse, and thus the meaning is in respect to His spirit of holiness. reference is to the higher nature in our Lord's complex personality. The word "spirit"—as in Heb. ix. 14—is employed to represent this nature, because, on the other side of the case, the word "flesh" had been naturally, as looked at from a Hebrew standpoint, employed to represent His human nature. But instead of simply saying in respect to His Spirit, the devout feeling of the writer enriches the representation by adding to it the qualitative idea of holiness. Our Saviour's higher nature is, like all divine moral nature, emphatically and infinitely holy. It would hence have come readily to the apostle to say in respect to His 'Holy Spirit.' But as the expression 'Holy Spirit' already conventionally appropriated designate to the third personality in the unity of the Godhead, the writer substitutes for it the kindred expression, Spirit of The phrase, of holiness, is in what is called by grammarians the characteristic genitive. When we look on

the ethical side of divine nature, whether in Father, Son, or Holy Spirit, holiness is the fundamental characteristic. Saviour's higher nature is "holy, holy, holy." The word for 'holiness' (άγιωσύνη) is rendered in the Latin Vulgate sancti-Erasmus, Luther, Tyndale, and Beza in the first five editions of his New Testament, as also Glöckler and Schrader of late, followed in the Vulgate's wake. But unhappily; for the Vulgate translator had misunderstood the derivation of the term. (See Henry Stephens' Thesaurus in voc.) Saviour is regarded, not as divinely imparting, but as divinely possessing holiness.—by His resurrection from the dead. Or, more literally, by resurrection of the dead. The apostle no doubt substantially means, by 'His' resurrection from among the dead. He looks upon our Lord's own resurrection as evincing Him to be, as respects His higher nature, God's Son in power. such really was the evidencing power of His resurrection, historically considered. His accusers at Pilate's bar said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself God's Son" (John xix. 7). When He was at the bar of the Sanhedrin, the high priest said to Him, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God; Jesus said to him, Thou hast said; nevertheless I say to you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power," and thus as the Son of God in power, "and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64). "Ye have heard the blasphemy," said the high priest, "what think ye? And they all condemned Him to be guilty of death" (Mark xiv. 64). It was thus on a charge of blasphemy that our Lord was adjudged to death. And the hinge on which the blasphemy was made to turn was the claim which He preferred, that He was the Son of God. His claim was incontrovertibly verified by His resurrection, which was thus, as Bengel expresses it, "the fountain of faith." As He had authority to lay down His life, so He had both authority (εξουσία) and power (δύναμις) to

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take it up again (John x. 18). This power He exerted. hence the transcendent importance attached to the resurrection by the apostles. See Acts ii. 24-32, iii. 15, iv. 10, xiii. 30, 34-37; 1 Cor. xv. 13-23. Hence, too, their joy at finding it pre-intimated in the Old Testament Scriptures (see Acts ii. 25, 31, xiii. 34, 35, xxvi. 22, 23; 1 Cor. xv. 4, etc.). did determine Him to be God's Son in power. And therefore we may be sure that the apostle did not, in the expression before us, lose sight of the individual resurrection of our But still he does not say, "by His resurrection from The subject broadened out and expanded before the dead." his view. To all other resurrections, past or to come, Christ's becomes, to the writer's illumined eye, the Fountain and the Archetype. Hence idealizingly he made a mental concept of the category of resurrection, and says that out of resurrection -no doubt including very specially the Saviour's-convincing evidence is fairly deducible to determine that Saviour to be "God's Son in power."

The historical name and designation of the Son of God in power is then added, Jesus Christ our Lord. The words stand in apposition with the expression His Son in verse 3. God's Son is Jesus, the historical being so named. He is Christ, invested with a peerless office, of which the varied offices of kings, priests, and prophets were and are but partial glimpses and flickering reflections. He is our Lord, the Sovereign who is supreme to our hearts, and whose will is law for our lives. The pronoun our spreads its wings beyond the apostle and his Romans, and covers all everywhere, whose character and aims in life had been revolutionized by the reception of the glad tidings.

J. MORISON.

THE MAN OF SIN.1

This is one of the most remarkable prophecies in the New It occurs in the writings of St. Paul, whose practical mind constituted him rather the preacher of the present than the prophet of the future. There is an obscurity in the language which could not have been so great to those to whom the apostle wrote as to us, for he had previously instructed his readers in the nature of the occurrence (2 Thess. ii. 5, 6); but ignorance of these instructions renders the passage to us enigmatical and difficult to understand; and perhaps also this obscurity is increased by reason of our distance from the time when the apostle There are in this prediction several points requiring wrote. consideration: the apostasy or falling away, which was secretly working even in the apostle's days, a withholding or restraining influence which prevented its open manifestation and full development, the advent of the Man of Sin, his characteristics and final doom. We shall, first, give a history of the various opinions concerning this subject in past ages, and then consider those views which are most prevalent in our own days.

¹ This article is chiefly an expansion and revision of a dissertation on ''The Man of Sin" in the author's work, entitled Introduction to the Pauline Epistles. For dissertations on the Man of Sin, the reader is referred to Alford's Greek Testament, vol. iii. Prolegomena, pp. 55-68, 3rd edition; Eadie's Commentary on the Thessalonians, pp. 329-367; Elliott's Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. iii. pp. 91 ff., 5th edition; Hurd On Prophecy, vol. ii. pp. 1 ff., 4th edition; Jowett On the Thessalonians, vol. i. pp. 168-182, 1st edition; pp. 178-194, 2nd edition; Lünemann's Briefe an die Thessalonicher, pp. 214-229; and the translation of the same, pp. 222 ff.; an article "On Antichrist," by Meyrick, in the appendix to Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; Bishop Newton's Dissertation on St. Paul's Prophecy of the Man of Sin; Riggenbach's dissertation in the Commentary on the Thessalonians, in Lange's Commentary; and Wordsworth's Greek Testament, in loco.

The following is a literal translation of the passage, adopting the text of Tischendorf: "But we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our assembling together unto Him, that you be not soon shaken from your sober mind, nor be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle as from us, to the effect that the day of the Lord is imminent.1 Let no man deceive you by any means, because that day shall not come, except there come the apostasy first, and the Man of Sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or is an object of worship, so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember you not that when I was with you, I told you these things? And now you know what restraineth, that he might be revealed in his For the mystery of lawlessness is already working, yet only until he that restraineth is removed; 2 and then shall the lawless one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of His mouth, and annihilate by the appearance of His coming; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, in all power and signs and wonders of falsehood, and in all deceit of unrighteousness for them that perish, because they receive not the law of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God sends to them the working of error, that they might believe the lie; that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

According to these words this much is evident, that the apostle expected a falling away from the purity of Christianity. Nor is this the only passage where St. Paul alludes to such a declension from primitive faith and holiness; there are allusions to it in his other Epistles, but especially in the

¹ Or "is present."

² Revised version: "For the mystery of lawlessness doth already work; only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way." See footnote in the revised edition.

Pastoral Epistles, where he describes the apostasy of the latter days: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth" (1 Tim. iv. 1-3). So also, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, he alludes to the impending nature of this period of apostasy—the mystery of lawlessness was already working: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come," or rather, "are present" (2 Tim. iii. 1-5). And St. Peter affirms that there shall arise in the Church "false teachers which shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and shall bring upon themselves swift destruction" (2 Pet. ii. 1); and that "in the last days there shall be scoffers walking after their ungodly lusts" (2 Pet. iii. 2). And a similar declaration is made by St. Jude: "Remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how they told you there should be mockers in the last times, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts" (Jude vers. 17, 18). And our Lord Himself, in His eschatological discourse, warned His disciples that there should arise false Christs and false prophets (Matt. xxiv. 24); a declaration which probably lies at the root of all similar apocalyptic assertions. In these passages, however, it is to be observed that a plurality of false teachers is asserted, whereas in our passages they are concentrated in an individual -" the Man of Sin."

Especially in the Epistles of St. John there is express mention of Antichrist, of a person (or persons) who is the opponent of Christ. It is only in these Epistles that the

¹ On the connection between Paul's prediction and our Lord's prophecy, see de Wette's *Thessalonicher*, p. 188.

word occurs, and it does so four times: "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that [the] Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists." "Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son." "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it shall come; and even now already is it in the world." "For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an Antichrist" (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7). Now the Man of Sin of St. Paul has been identified with the Antichrist of St. They agree in several points; in both he is described as an individual, whose coming will be foreshadowed by many forerunners; in both his advent is future, but the evil principle, the apostasy or spirit of Antichrist, is already at work; and in both there is open opposition to God and It is, however, to be observed that in St. John the antichristian error is more positively stated as consisting in the denial that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, accordingly as Gnosticism, which we know was already secretly corrupting the Church, and hence the reason why some have connected the Man of Sin with the errors of the Gnostics, whereas it does not appear from St. Paul's words that the characteristics of the Gnostics correspond with the characteristics of the Man of Sin; but, on the other hand, the denial of the Father and the Son is common to both.

It would far exceed the limits of this article to compare the Man of Sin with the declarations concerning the manifestations of evil in the Apocalypse of St. John. In that mysterious book there appear to be two centres or impersonations of evil: the one described as the beast coming out

^{1 &}quot;The mystery of iniquity working" in St. Paul's prophecy: the many Antichrists of St. John.

of the sea, to whom the dragon gave his power, and seat, and great authority (Rev. xiii. 1, 2); and the other, as another beast coming out of the earth, who had two horns like a lamb, and spake like a dragon (Rev. xiii. 11); and who has been identified with the false prophet (Rev. xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10). Whether there is a resemblance between the Man of Sin and either or both of those beasts we do not inquire; in both a manifestation or revelation of evil, and the concentration of it in an individual or individuals, is predicted.

The prediction of St. Paul bears a still more striking resemblance to the vision of Daniel concerning the wicked and persecuting king (Dan. xi.), than to either the Antichrist of St. John or the beasts of the Apocalypse. That prophecy of Daniel received its primary accomplishment in Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jews, but the concluding portion is applicable to a future opponent of God and ·His people, and finds its full accomplishment in him.² Now the imagery employed by the prophet and the apostle is the Paul predicts a falling away, and Daniel tells us that the king shall have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant (Dan. xi. 30). Paul tells us that the Man of Sin shall sit in the temple of God, displaying himself as God; and Daniel, in the passage quoted by our Lord, speaks of the abomination of desolation being set up in the holy place (Dan. xi. 31). Paul foretells that the Man of Sin shall appear and exalt himself against all that is called God or is

¹ Canon Farrar entertains the strange idea that the first beast coming out of the sea is Nero, and the second beast coming out of the earth, or the false prophet, is Vespasian. See articles in the Expositor, May and September 1881.

² The Jews considered Antiochus Epiphanes as the type of Antichrist, to whom they gave the name of Armillus. Thus the Targum translates Isa.

whom they gave the name of Armillus. Thus the Targum translates Isa. xi. 4: "By the breath of His mouth He shall slay Armillus, the wicked one." According to the Jewish notions, Armillus shall appear in the last days; he shall be born of a marble statue in one of the churches of Rome; the Romans shall acknowledge him as their Messiah and accept him as their king; he shall make war with Israel, and in the battle that will ensue Messiah ben Joseph will be slain, but Messiah ben David shall appear and utterly destroy Armillus and his followers.

an object of worship; and Daniel tells us that the king shall exalt and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished (Dan. xi. 36). This resemblance between the persecuting king of Daniel and the Man of Sin is repeatedly noticed by the early Fathers. Thus Origen observes: "What is stated by Paul in the words quoted by him, when he says, 'So he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God,' is in Daniel referred to in the following manner: 'And in the temple shall be the abomination of desolations, and at the end of time an end shall be put to the desolation'" (Origen, Contra Cels. vi. 46).\footnote{1} There can hardly, then, be a reasonable doubt that Paul in his prediction had this prophecy of Daniel in view.\footnote{2}

The prediction of St. Paul concerning the Man of Sin made a deep impression upon the early Fathers, and the references to it in their writings are numerous. There is also a comparative unanimity in their sentiments. In general, they considered that the fulfilment of the prediction was future; that the Man of Sin was Antichrist and an individual; and that the restraining influence was the Roman Empire. Justin Martyr speaks of the Man of Sin as the man of apostasy who speaks strange things against the Most High, and shall venture to do unlawful deeds on earth against Christians (Dial. cum Tryph. c. 110). Irenaus observes "that he being an apostate and a robber is anxious to be adored as God; and that although a mere slave, he wishes himself to be proclaimed as a king. For he, being endued with the power of the devil, shall come not as a righteous king in subjection to God, but as the lawless one; concentrating in himself all Satanic apostasy; and setting aside all idols, he shall persuade men that he himself is God (Adv. Har. v. 25.1). Tertullian

¹ See also Irenæus, Adv. Hær. v. 25. 3.

² For the resemblance between this prediction of Paul and the prophecy of Daniel, see Jowett On St. Paul's Epistles, vol. i. p. 174 ff., 1st edition; Hofmann's Schriftbeweis, vol. ii. p. 614 ff.

alludes to the Roman Empire as the restraining power: "What obstacle is there but the Roman State, the falling away of which shall introduce Antichrist; for then shall be revealed the lawless One" (de Resurr. c. 24). And again: "We Christians are under peculiar necessity of praying for the emperors, and for the complete stability of the empire, because we know that dreadful power which hangs over the world and the conclusion of the age, which threatens the most horrible evils, is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman Empire. This is what we would not experience. And while we pray that it may be deferred, we hereby show our goodwill to the perpetuity of the Roman State" (Apol. c. 32). Hippolytus supposes that Antichrist will be a Jew belonging to the tribe of Dan: "As Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan" (de Antichristo, c. 14). Cyprian regards Antiochus Epiphanes as the type of Antichrist (Exhort. ad Martyr. c. 11). And Jerome observes: "As the Saviour had Solomon and other saints as types of His coming, so we may rightly believe that Antichrist had as a type of himself that most wicked King Antiochus, who persecuted the saints and profaned the temple" (on Dan. xi. 35). There was a diversity of opinion among them regarding the meaning of the temple of God in which the Man of Sin was to seat himself. of the Fathers (Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine, Jerome) interpreted the expression figuratively as denoting the Christian Church; whilst others (Irenæus, Cyril) took it literally, and referred it to the temple of Jerusalem, supposing that the Man of Sin would rebuild the temple.

It was an opinion in the early Church, continuing even to the close of the fourth century, that Nero was Antichrist. Of course such an opinion cannot refer to the Man of Sin, as this would involve an anachronism; but can only be applied to Antichrist as described in the Apocalypse. Too much has

¹ The same opinion is entertained by Irenaus, Adv. Har. v. 30. 2.

been made of this Nero myth, as it is seldom alluded to by the early Fathers until the close of the third century. was the emperor who persecuted the Christians, and was therefore peculiarly obnoxious to them. After his death there was a general impression throughout the Roman world that he was not really dead, but was living in concealment in Parthia, and would return to regain his empire. "About this time," observes Tacitus, "a report that Nero was still alive and on his way to the East excited a false alarm throughout Arabia and Asia" (Hist. ii. 8). And Suetonius mentions that it was thought that Nero was still alive, and would shortly return to Rome and take vengeance on all his enemies (Nero, 57). Mention is made in history of three impostors who personated Nero: one in Achaia and Proconsular Asia in the reign of Otho; a second also in Proconsular Asia in the reign of Titus; and a third, protected by the Parthians, in the reign of Domitian. From this notion appears to have arisen the Christian idea that Nero would be again raised up as Antichrist.1 The earliest notice of this opinion appears in the fourth of the Sibylline books (A.D. 80), which, however, is considered by critics to be not of Christian, but of Jewish In the fifth Sibylline book, supposed to be of the time of Hadrian (A.D. 130), according to some by a Jewish Christian, and according to others by an Egyptian Jew, the Antichrist Beliar is identified with Nero.² Not until the close of the third century (A.D. 290) does Victorinus, bishop of Pettau, in his exposition of the Apocalypse, identify the beast rising out of the sea with Nero: "Now that one of heads was, as it were, slain to death, in this he speaks of Nero;" and Chrysostom regarded Nero as the type of Antichrist.3

¹ See Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*: Cabinet edition, vol. vii. p. 50 ff., p. 348 ff.

² See on the Sibylline oracles and their probable age, Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 10-16. According to Friedlieb, both the fourth and the fifth books are of Jewish origin.

² Lardner's Works, vol. ii. p. 94.

The great reason, however, on which certain writers ground their opinion that the author of the Apocalypse considered Nero to be Antichrist was the declaration contained in Rev. xvii. 10, 11: "And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast which was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition;" a passage referred to by Victorinus.1 By the five kings they understand the five emperors who had already reigned: Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero; by the sixth Galba (or according to others Vespasian: Galba. Otho, and Vitellius being omitted as their reigns were short); by the seventh Otho (or according to others Titus); and by the eighth, who was also one of the seven, Antichrist, or Nero restored to life. This passage is still appealed to by recent writers who adopt the Nero hypothesis.² Lactantius (A.D. 306), on the other hand, repudiates this hypothesis as extravagant, "Some persons of extravagant imagination," he observes, "suppose that Nero, having been conveyed to a distant region, is still alive; and to him they apply the Sibylline verses concerning 'the fugitive who slew his own mother being to come from the uttermost boundaries of the earth;' as if he who was the first shall also be the last persecutor, and thus prove the forerunner of Antichrist. But we ought not to believe those who, affirming that the two prophets Enoch

¹ Victorinus supposes the five kings who have fallen to be Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus; the sixth Domitian; the seventh Nerva, and the eighth Antichrist or Nero.

² As Lücke, Ewald, Bleek, de Wette, Renan, Immer, Düsterdieck, and Archdeacon Farrar. Düsterdieck and Archdeacon Farrar (who, however, appears undecided) suppose that the eighth king is Domitian, who came as Nero in spirit, and who was also called Nero. Most of these writers suppose that Augustus was the first emperor, though no sufficient reason can be assigned for the exclusion of Julius Cæsar. Renan commences with Julius Cæsar, and according to him Nero was the sixth emperor whom the author of the Apocalypse erroneously supposed to be alive. See a most interesting note on this Nero fable by Archdeacon Lee in the Speaker's Commentary: New Testament, vol. iv. p. 759 ff. See also Bleek's Lectures on the Apocalypse, p. 86 ff.; Düsterdieck's Offenbarung Johannis, p. 521 ff.

and Elijah have been translated into some remote place that they might attend our Lord when He shall come to the judgment, also fancy that Nero is to appear hereafter as the forerunner of the devil, when he shall come to lay waste the earth and overthrow mankind."

The opponents of hierarchical power in the Middle Ages regarded the Pope as Antichrist, and considered the passage in question as a prediction of the origin and growth of the papal authority. Thus as early as the close of the tenth century (A.D. 991), Arnulph, bishop of Orleans, declared at the Council of Rheims that if the Roman pontiff was destitute of charity and puffed up with knowledge he was Antichrist. This view was entertained by Robert Grostête, the celebrated bishop of Lincoln, by Savonarola, by the Albigenses, the Waldenses, Wickliffe and the Wickliffites, the Hussites, and all those sects who were in opposition to the Roman hierarchy. Even St. Bernard uses this bold language: "The ministers of Christ are become the servants of Antichrist, and the beast of the Apocalypse has seated himself in the chair of St. Peter." ²

The Reformers in general adopted this opinion. Such was the view of Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, Melanchthon, Beza, and Bucer; and among English Reformers of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Jewell. According to them, the apostasy is the falling away from evangelical doctrine to the traditions of men and the corruptions of Popery. The Man of Sin or Antichrist is not, as the Fathers conceived, an individual, but the succession of Popes—series et successio hominum. And the restraining power is the Roman Empire, out of whose ruins Popery arose. The Lutheran Church inserted this opinion as an article in their creed (Artic. Smalc. ii. 4). In the dedication of the translators of the authorized version to King James, it is assumed that the Pope is the Man of Sin; and

¹ Lactantius, de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. ii. ---

² Quoted by Bishop Hurd On Prophecy, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29.

that monarch is complimented for writing in the defence of the truth which "gave such a blow to the Man of Sin that it cannot be healed." And the assertion that the Pope is Antichrist and the Man of Sin forms one of the articles of the Westminister Confession: "There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that Man of Sin and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God" (chap. xxv. 6).

The Romanists, on the other hand, were naturally led by opposition to consider the passage as a prediction of the rise and growth of Protestantism. The apostasy was the falling away from the Romish Church by the doctrines of the Reformation. The Man of Sin denoted heretics in general, but especially Luther, the chief of the Reformers. The restraining influence was the German Empire, considered as a continuation of the Roman Empire. This, however, was not the general opinion of the Church of Rome: most of their theologians supposed that Antichrist or the Man of Sin was an individual whose coming is yet future.

The Greek Church was naturally led to regard the prophecy as a prediction of Mahometanism. The apostasy was the falling away of many Greek and Oriental Churches to Mahometanism; the Man of Sin was Mahomet, and the restraining influence the power of the Roman Empire. Some of the Reformers (Melanchthon, Bucer, Musculus) considered that there were two Antichrists, one belonging to the Eastern Church and the other to the Western. The Eastern Antichrist was Mahomet, and the Western was the Pope. It is a remarkable circumstance that all three—the Greeks, the Romanists, and the Protestants—were at one as regards the restraining influence; this they regarded as the imperial power—the Roman Empire, either in itself or continued in the Greek and German Empires.

¹ Innocent III. endeavoured to stir up a crusade by the declaration that Mahomet was the Man of Sin.

The modern views concerning the Man of Sin are chiefly four—the Rationalists, who consider that there is no prophecy; the Præterists, who consider the prophecy as already fulfilled; the Progressionists, who regard it as being fulfilled, or in the course of fulfilment; and the Futurists, who regard the fulfilment as still future.

1. The first class of expositors are those who regard all the usual interpretations as proceeding from a false assumption, as if there were a prophecy, whereas there is in reality no prediction at all. This opinion is adopted by Koppe, Pelt, de Wette, Lünemann, Jowett, and Davidson. Koppe appears to have been the earliest who took this view of the passage. idealizes the prediction, and supposes that the apostle is only stating his impression of what might be the future state of the Church, from a consideration of the times in which he lived. The apostle was profoundly impressed with the prophecies of Daniel; and from them he dreaded an outburst of evil after his death, and he expressed his forebodings in language coloured from Daniel. Pelt supposes that the mystery of iniquity was the inward principle of evil which the apostle foresaw would afterwards break forth in a more open and violent form; that the restraining power was the will of God holding back the kingdom of Satan; and that the coming of Christ was the final victory of good over evil. So also de Wette observes: "He goes altogether wrong who finds here any more than the apostle's subjective anticipation, from his own historical position, of the future of the Christian Church. Instead of rising to the example of Christ, acknowledging the limitation which there is to a definite foreknowledge of the future, the apostle pays a tribute to human weakness, since he wished to know too much beforehand."1 Lünemann considers that Paul was so entirely engrossed by his ideas of the

¹ De Wette, however, expresses himself very differently in the preface to his exposition of the Apocalypse; there he recognises the symptoms of Antichrist in the God-denying egoism of our day, with its rejection of all restraints.

proximity of the advent, that, carried away by his individuality. he "wished to settle more exactly concerning its circumstances and conditions the historical relations of the coming of Christ, than is allotted to man in general to know, even although he should be the apostle, the most filled with the Spirit of God."1 "Such passages" (Col. ii. 8, 16; Eph. vi. 12), observes Professor Jowett, "are a much safer guide to the interpretation of the one we are considering than the meaning of similar passages in the Old Testament. For they indicate to us the habitual thought of the apostle's mind; 'a falling away first,' suggested probably by the wavering which he saw among his own converts, the grievous wolves entering into the Church of Ephesus (Acts xx. 29), the turning away of all them of Asia (2 Tim. i. 15). When we consider that his own converts and Jewish opponents or half converts were all the world to him, that through them, as it were in a glass, he appeared to see the workings of human nature generally, we understand how this double image of good and evil should have presented itself to him, and the kind of necessity that he felt that Christ and Antichrist should alternate with each It was not that he foresaw some great conflict, deciother. sive of the destinies of mankind. What he anticipated far more nearly resembled the spiritual combat in the seventh chapter of the Romans." And Dr. Davidson remarks: "The passage does not contain a prophecy, but rather the writer's notion on a subject which did not concern the proper faith and duty of mankind. Those notions were shaped by the floating belief of his day, and have nothing beyond a historical interest. They belong to the past of Christianity, to its infantine state, when it was emerging out of Judaism and assuming that independent position to which no man contributed so much as the apostle of the Gentiles." 3

¹ Lünemann, Briefe an die Thessalonischer, pp. 229, 230; translation of the same, p. 237.

³ Jowett's St. Paul's Epistles, vol. i. p. 177, 1st edition; p. 189, 2nd edition. ³ Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament (new edition), vol. i. p. 14.

Such a view is at variance with the idea of inspiration, in other words, with the supposition that the apostle was guided in writing by a higher spirit than his own. The supernatural is entirely overlooked; the apostle writes according to his own fancies; he is led astray by his erroneous opinions. such a view is "entirely consistent with the apostle's inspiration" is difficult to understand, even although we employ the term inspiration in a very broad sense. The power of foretelling the future is denied to the sacred writers. "We take them," observes Dr. Davidson, "as guides to faith and practice. generally without adopting all that they propounded, or believing that they could foretell future events." 1 It is evident the apostle is here giving a prediction of what shall take place; and therefore if there were no real prediction, he was on this point mistaken and in error, and consequently uninspired. we admit inspiration, we must receive the truth declared as the revelation of God; the Scripture contains truths to be received, and not the mere opinions of fallible men to be canvassed.

2. The second class of interpreters are those who, recognising a prediction, regard it as already fulfilled; to this class belong Grotius, Wetstein, Hammond, Le Clerc, Whitby, Schöttgen, Wieseler, Kern, Döllinger, and Baumgarten. These generally agree in considering that the prophecy received its accomplishment in Christ's coming in spirit to destroy Jerusalem, although they differ widely in details. Grotius supposes that the Man of Sin was Caligula, who demanded supreme and universal worship as God, and ordered his statue to be placed in the temple of Jerusalem; he who restrained was Vitellius, the proconsul of Syria, who, at the risk of his life, refused to obey the order of Caligula; and the lawless One was Simon Magus. It seemed to Paul that the delineation of Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel was to be realized in Caligula.² But the

² Grotius, Annotationes in II. Epistolam ad Thessal.

¹ Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament (new edition), vol. i. p. 15.

distinction between the Man of Sin and the lawless One is incorrect; and besides, the interpretation involves an anachronism, as the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written after the death of Caligula. Wetstein adopts the extravagant opinion that the Man of Sin was Titus, "the delight of the human race," whose army brought their idolatrous ensigns into the captured temple and offered sacrifices there; and that the restraining influence was Nero, that monster of iniquity, whose death was necessary for the sake of Titus. imagined that by the Man of Sin Simon Magus, together with his followers the Gnostics, was meant; the apostasy was the falling away of the Christians into Gnosticism; and the restraining influence was the apostles, who by still preaching to the Jews preserved the union still subsisting between Jews and Christians.1 Le Clerc supposes that the apostasy was the revolt of the Jews from the Romans; the Man of Sin was the rebellious Jews, and especially their leader, Simon the son of Giora; and the restraining power was the chief of the Jewish nation, who were against the revolt. Whitby also considers the apostasy as the revolt of the Jews from the Roman Empire or from the faith; the Man of Sin as the Jewish nation, with their high priest and Sanhedrim; and the restraining power as Claudius, during whose reign the Jews would not rebel, as they were under great obligations to him.3 Schöttgen also agrees with Whitby in considering that by the Man of Sin is meant the Pharisees, the Rabbis, and the doctors of the law; but he differs from him in considering that the restraining power was the prayers of the Christians, which warded off the destruction of Jerusalem until they had left the city and retired to Pella. Much more ingenious is the opinion of Wieseler. considers the prophecy as a prediction of the destruction of "He that restraineth" must be some good influ-Jerusalem. ence which delayed the catastrophe, and this he considers to

¹ Hammond On the New Testament, in loco.

² Whitby's Commentary, pp. 813-818. London: Thomas Tegg. 1842.

be the pious Jews then living, particularly the Christians: and if the singular number requires an individual, then the restrainer is James the Just, the Lord's brother. Not until James was murdered and the Christians had removed from Jerusalem was the city taken. 1 Kern considers that the Man of Sin is Nero; he that restraineth is Vespasian and his son Titus; and the apostasy is the revolt of the Jews on the departure of the Christians.2 Döllinger, like Kern, supposes Antichrist to be Nero. Nero was already adopted by Claudius, and was regarded as the future Cæsar. "He that restraineth" The coming of Christ was his coming to was Claudius. execute judgment on Jerusalem; and although Nero did not personally undertake anything against the Jews, yet he did so by his lieutenant Vespasian. The apostasy was the departure of the Christians into the errors of the Gnostics. Döllinger, however, considers that there may be a more complete fulfilment in the last days.8 Baumgarten thinks that the prophecy reflects the experience of the apostle; the Man of Sin was the Jews, who everywhere opposed his preaching the gospel; the apostasy was the renunciation of Jesus as the Messiah; and the restraining influence was the imperial authority which hitherto had protected the apostle and kept the Jews in check. This opinion appears to be partially adopted by Bishop Lightfoot: "It seems upon the whole probable," he observes, "that the Antichrist is represented especially by Judaism. prophetic insight the apostle foresaw, as he contemplated the moral and political condition of the race, the approach of a great and overwhelming catastrophe. It was to Roman justice and Roman magistrates that the apostle had recourse at this time to shield him from the enmity of the Jews, and

¹ Wieseler's Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, pp. 268-277.

³ Kern on this account considers the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians to be spurious. The same view is maintained by Baur, Hilgenfeld, and others belonging to the Tübingen school.

³ For Döllinger's views, see Lünemann On the Thesealonians, p. 232, and Riggenbach in Lange's Commentary.

to check their violence." At the same time, he thinks that the prophecy has not yet received its most striking and complete fulfilment.

It would be a mere waste of time to examine these views seriatim. So far as they consider the prophecy as having received its full accomplishment, they do not satisfy its conditions, and have only a general and fancied resemblance. Especially it is fatal to the views of this class of interpreters that the coming of Christ alluded to is evidently not His coming in spirit to destroy Jerusalem, but, as the context shows, and as is the uniform meaning of the phrase in the Epistles of Paul, His coming in person to establish His spiritual kingdom.

3. The third class of exponents are those who regard the prophecy as being fulfilled, or as in the course of fulfilment; that is, as already partially fulfilled, but awaiting its complete accomplishment: we allude to those who find in the passage a prediction of Popery. Besides the early Reformers, this opinion is advocated by Hooker, Hurd, Newton, Turretin, Benson, Bengel, Doddridge, Macknight, Michaelis, Elliott, and Bishop Wordsworth.

This opinion proceeds on the assumption that the restraining influence is the Roman Empire. In the prediction that influence is both masculine and neuter: by the masculine the emperor is meant, and by the neuter the empire. This opinion is that of the early Fathers, and was generally adopted with various modifications by Greeks, Romanists, and Protestants.² It is in itself highly probable, and may have been handed down by tradition from the Church of Thessalonica, who had been instructed concerning its nature (2 Thess. ii. 6).

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Second Epistle to the Thessalonians."

² To this general opinion the view of Calvin is a notable exception. He supposes that the restraining influence was the united diffusion of the gospel, and that the Man of Sin was not to be manifested until the gospel was preached to the whole world: "This, therefore, was the delay until the career of the gospel should be completed, because a gracious invitation to salvation was first in order."—Calvin, in loco.

If the restrainer was the Roman emperor, we may understand the reason of the reserve of the apostle. If he had stated this in so many words, he would have been regarded as an enemy to the Roman government, because he would then teach the destruction of the empire, and would have involved Christians in persecution. Prudence required a discreet silence on this point. This reason for reserve was recognised by the early Fathers. "If St. Paul," observes Chrysostom, "had said that the Roman Empire will soon be dissolved, the heathen world would have destroyed him as a rebel, and all the faithful with him, as persons who took up arms against the State. But St. Paul means the Roman Empire; and when that shall have been taken away, then the Man of Sin will come. For as the power of Babylon was dissolved by the Persian dynasty, and the Persian was supplanted by the Greek, and the Greek by the Roman, so the Roman will be dissolved by Antichrist, and Antichrist by Christ" (in loco). Now, in the view of those who regard the Pope as the Man of Sin, this prediction was fully verified. No sooner was the restraint removed than the Man of Sin was revealed. As long as the Roman emperor continued heathen and resided at Rome, no ecclesiastical power was permitted to exalt itself; but no sooner did the emperor remove from Rome to Constantinople, than the Papacy arose; the restraint on the bishop of Rome was removed; and after the Roman Empire in the West came to an end by the dethronement of Augustulus, the power of the Pope mightily increased.

But the great point of inquiry is: Is there a sufficient resemblance between this prophecy and Romanism, so that we may conclude they are related to each other as prediction and fulfilment? Are the characteristics of the Man of Sin found in Popery? Those who belong to this class of interpreters assert that the resemblance is striking and obvious. An apostasy is predicted, and there is in Romanism a falling away from the pure gospel to the traditions of men; the

doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the Virgin and the saints, are adduced as examples. The Man of Sin is represented as opposing and exalting himself against all that is called God or is an object of worship; and this is considered as receiving its fulfilment in the Pope exalting himself above all human and divine authority, claiming the title "king of kings and lord of lords," applying to himself the words of the Psalmist, "All kings shall bow down before thee," styling himself universal bishop, and asserting his power to dispose of the kingdoms of the earth. The Man of Sin is said to seat himself in the temple of God, showing himself as God. The temple of God is here understood to be the Christian Church, and the Pope places himself in it as its supreme head, the Vicar of Jesus He shows himself as God by claiming divine Christ. attributes, as holiness and infallibility; assuming divine prerogatives, as the power of pardoning sins and the opening and shutting of the kingdom of heaven; and using such divine titles as "Our Lord God the Pope," "Another God on earth."2 Every Pope on his election is placed on the high altar of St. Peter, and receives the adoration of the cardinals. coming of the Man of Sin is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and wonders of falsehood; and this is considered as receiving its fulfilment in the false miracles of Popery; in the impositions of indulgences and purgatory; in the wonders done by sacred images moving, speaking, bleeding; in the prodigies effected by sacred relics; in the supernatural visitations of the Virgin; and in the pretended power of working miracles which the Church of Rome still claims: as Bellarmine reckons the glory of miracles as the devout

¹ In the remarkable words of Gregory the Great in opposition to the patriarch of Constantinople: "Whoever calls himself universal bishop is the precursor of Antichrist."

² These and such-like titles are cited in Jewell's Apology, Poole's Annotations, Newton On the Prophecies. See also Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy; Stillingfleet On Popery, chap. xviii., and Luthardt's Saving Truths of Christianity, pp. 395, 396.

mark of the Catholic Church. God is represented as punishing sin by sin—"sending to them the working of error that they might believe the lie." The Popish legends, which have gained such credit as to be admitted among their ceremonies, and especially the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, are regarded as the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy.\(^1\) And besides, in the other passage where Paul predicts the falling away of the latter times, the marks which he gives find their counterpart in the corruptions of Popery: "Giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats" (1 Tim. iv. 1-3).

Paul represents the system as working even in his days. "For the mystery of lawlessness is already working" (2 Thess. ii. 7). It works inwardly; it is a mystery—something concealed and unknown until it is revealed. The germs of the antichristian system were already in the Church; the leaven of corruption was at work. Paul knew this, because he was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost can see what man cannot see (Wordsworth). But, in truth, the germs of the antichristian system are discernible in the false doctrines and superstitious practices alluded to in Paul's Epistles; and it is asserted that there is a striking resemblance between them and the doctrines and practices of Romanism; as, for example, the worship of angels (Col. ii. 8), the abstinence from certain foods (1 Cor. viii. 8), bodily mortification (Col. ii. 23), the traditions, and doctrines, and commandments of men (Col. ii. 8, 22); so that, as Bishop Newton observes, "The foundations of Popery were laid indeed in the apostles' days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building

^{1 &}quot;The annals of the world," observes Dr. Macknight, "cannot produce persons and events to which the things written in this passage can be applied with so much fitness as to the Bishop of Rome. Why then should we be in any doubt concerning the interpretation and application of this famous prophecy!"

was completed, and the Man of Sin was revealed in full perfection."1

Of course, according to this view of the subject, the complete fulfilment of the prophecy is still future. The destruction of the Man of Sin—that is, according to this view, Romanism—is also predicted: "Whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of His mouth, and annihilate by the appearance of His coming" (2 Thess. ii. 8). By this cannot be meant, as some suppose, the preaching of the pure gospel, or the diffusion of the word of God at the Reformation, because the language is denunciatory. As, however, this portion of the prophecy is unfulfilled, it is not required to offer any explanations. The interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy is probably beyond the powers of the human mind; the fulfilment is the only key to the interpretation.

To this view of the subject numerous objections have been There are three which merit consideration. 1. It is affirmed that the Man of Sin is distinctly asserted to be an individual: he is called "the lawless One," "the son of perdition," whereas, according to the above view, he is an ecclesiastical system, or a succession of individuals. But, as Bishop Lightfoot observes, "in all figurative passages it is arbitrary to assume that a person is denoted when we find a Thus the Man of Sin here need not be an personification. individual man; it may be a body of men, or a power, or a spiritual influence."2 The restraining influence, which is at one time in the neuter and at another time in the masculine, is almost universally acknowledged to be not a person, but an influence or series of persons. So in like manner the Man of Sin may be a succession of individuals; at least there is no absolute necessity arising from the terms of the prophecy to regard him as a person.⁸ 2. It is affirmed that even admitting

¹ Bishop Newton's Dissertation on the Man of Sin.

² Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Epistles to the Thessalonians."

² See Elliott's Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. iii. p. 95 f., 5th edition; Newton On the Prophecies.

all the striking coincidences, yet the idea of Popery does not and never did fulfil the prophecy in ver. 4. So far from the Pope opposing and exalting himself against all that is called God or is an object of worship, his "abject adoration and submission to them has ever been one of his most notable peculiarities" (Alford). But to this it has been replied that the arrogance of the Pope, his assertion that he is the Vicar of Christ, his claim of infallibility, which has lately been conceded to him, are a distinct fulfilment of this prediction. 3. It is said that "if the Papacy be Antichrist, then has the manifestation been made and endured now for nearly 1500 years, and yet the day of the Lord has not come, which by the terms of our prophecy such manifestation is immediately to precede" (Alford). But to this it has been answered that it is not asserted that the coming of Christ follows directly on the coming of the Man of Sin, but merely that the Man of Sin will precede; the interval between the two comings is nowhere defined. Besides, it may be that there is a development of Antichrist, and that his final destruction by the coming of the Lord will not occur until his full development. Thus, for example, the spiritual power of Popery may be unfolding itself; the mystery of lawlessness may be still working, as was lately seen in the introduction of two new dogmas into the Romish Church—the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and the personal infallibility of the Pope. career of the Man of Sin has not yet run.

Upon the whole, on an impartial review of the subject, we cannot avoid the impression that the points of resemblance between the prophecy and Romanism are numerous, varied, and striking. Our forefathers had no doubt as to the application of the prediction, and perhaps they were nearer the truth than we in modern times who hesitate. Such an opinion may be considered as uncharitable and unjust, and is certainly not in accordance with the more charitable spirit of

¹ Alford's Greek Testament, vol. iii., Prolegomena, p. 66.

our age, when Popery is viewed as it presently exists, divested of its power to persecute, and as is seen in the culture, refinement, and piety of many of its adherents. But when we reflect upon the abominable persecutions of the Inquisition, the monstrous wickedness of the Popes prior to the Reformation, the atrocities perpetrated in the name of religion, the crimes committed by the priests, and the general corruption of the whole system; and when we think that it is only the restraining influence of Protestantism which prevents a repetition of such actions, we may see reason, if not to affirm positively, yet to suspect that such an opinion may be founded on truth, and if so, be neither uncharitable nor unjust.

4. The fourth class of interpreters consider the fulfilment as future, and that we are not to look for any past occurrence as answering all its requirements. This opinion is the one which is chiefly favoured in our days. It has been adopted by Hofmann, Ewald, Olshausen, Riggenbach, Lange, Alford, Ellicott, Lillie, Eadie, Meyrick, and Bishop Alexander; although there is a considerable difference in their views.

It is maintained that it is unwarrantable to consider the Pope as Antichrist, and the Papacy as an antichristian system. The essential doctrines of Christianity are maintained and defended by the Romanists. The cross of Christ is exalted, and His sufferings are declared to be the atonement for sin. The great doctrine of the Trinity is not only maintained, but prominently brought forward. The influences of the Spirit are recognised and depended on. And the Pope, instead of opposing himself to God, owns himself to be the servant and worshipper of God. Hence it is considered that in the future there may be a fuller completion than has ever yet taken place in the past. Prophecy has many partial fulfilments, until it reaches its climax in a complete accom-

¹ As, for example, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VII.

² The massacre of St. Bartholomew.

³ See Froude's The English in Ireland, book iii. chap. i. sec. 2.

⁴ See Eadie On the Thessalonians, p. 353.

plishment. Thus the Messianic prophecies of our Lord were partially fulfilled in David, in Solomon, in the Jewish nation; so it may be with this prediction: its final application may be reserved for the last days of this world's probation. The antichristian elements, which are now found dispersed, may be collected and exhibited in an individual who will be the realization of the Man of Sin.

According to Hofmann, the whole passage refers to the Paul applies the prophecy therein convisions of Daniel. tained to the latter days. The power that restraineth the outburst of evil is a good principle; just as Michael, the guardian angel of the Jews, withstood the prince of Persia (Dan. x. 20). When the good principle which now preserves the world in agreement with God is removed, then Antichrist will appear in the form of some mighty lawless conqueror. mann appears actually to expect the revivification of Antiochus Epiphanes.1 Ewald, again, applies to the prophecy the prediction of Malachi concerning the coming of Elijah. supposes that by that which hinders the appearance of Antichrist the coming of Elijah is meant, and that Antichrist will not be revealed in all his atrocious wickedness until Elijah be taken out of the way and again translated to heaven.2

Omitting these interpretations, which must appear to our English minds fanciful and extravagant, based on mere conjecture, and wholly arbitrary in their nature, we come to the more rational statements of other divines. In general, according to them, the Man of Sin is an individual of gigantic mental powers, enormous daring, and extreme wickedness, who shall appear on the earth in the latter days; and the restraining influence which prevents the appearance of such an individual is moral order or government. Thus, according to Olshausen, the Man of Sin is an individual. All the manifestations of evil, the revolt of the Jews from the Romans,

¹ Hofmann's Thessalonicher, p. 383.

² Ewald's Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus, p. 27.

Nero, Mahomet, the development of the Papacy in the Middle Ages, the French Revolution of 1789, with the abolition of Christianity and the setting up of a prostitute as the goddess of Reason in the cathedral church of Paris, and the present diffusion of infidelity and Atheism, are the precursors of Antichrist; but they contain only some of his characteristics, not all. Similarly Dean Alford observes: "Though 1800 years later, we stand with regard to this prophecy where the apostle stood; the day of the Lord not present, and not to arrive until the Man of Sin be manifested; the mystery of iniquity still working, and much advanced in its working; the restrainer still hindering. And let us ask ourselves. What does this represent to us? Is it not indicative of a state in which the lawlessness is working on, so to speak, underground, under the surface of things, gaining, throughout these many ages, more expansive force, more accumulated power, but still hidden and unconcentrated? And might we not look, in the progress of such a state of things, for repeated minor embodiments of this lawlessness,—the many Antichrists (1 John ii. 18) springing up here and there in different countries,-the apostasy going onward and growing, just as there were of Christ Himself frequent types and minor embodiments before He came in the Thus in the Papacy, where so many of the prophetic features are combined, we see as it were a standing embodiment and type of the final Antichrist-in the remarkable words of Gregory the Great, the præcursor Antichristi; and in Nero, and in every persecutor as he arose, and Mahomet, and Napoleon, and many other forms and agencies of evil. other and more transient types and examples of him." 2 And Bishop Ellicott remarks: "The adversary is Antichrist, no mere set of principles or succession of opponents, but one single person, being as truly man as He whom he impiously opposes." And he observes: "The restraining principle is the power of well-

¹ Olshausen On the Thessalonians, pp. 488, 489, Clark's translation.

² Alford's Greek Testament, vol. iii., Prolegomena, p. 67.

ordered human rule, the principles of legality as opposed to those of lawlessness, of which the Roman emperor was the then embodiment and manifestation." 1 Similar views are adopted by Bishop Alexander, Dr. Eadie, Lillie, and Riggenbach. Meyrick, in his interesting and exhaustive article on Antichrist, in the Appendix to Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, thus expresses his view of the sum of Scripture teaching with regard to Antichrist: "It would appear that there is to be evolved from the womb of the corrupt Church an individual Antichrist, who being himself a scoffer and contemner of all religion, will yet act as the patron and defender of the corrupt Church, and compel men to submit to her sway by the force of the secular arm, and by means of bloody persecutions. will unite the old foes, superstition and unbelief, in a combined attack on liberty and religion. He will have the power of performing lying miracles and beguiling souls, being the embodiment of Satanic as distinct from brutal wickedness." Or, as Lange puts it, "Antichrist may proceed from a coalition between completed absolutism and completed radicalism."

Of course, according to this view, the fulfilment being yet future, we cannot apply to its truth or falsehood the characteristics given us in the prophecy itself. It appears to be the uniform doctrine of Scripture, as seen both in the prophecies of the Old Testament and of the New, that before the consummation of all things there will be a final and desperate struggle between the principles of good and evil. The revolt against all rule and authority, the spread of Nihilism, the increase of infidelity and Agnosticism, the unblushing proclamation of Atheism and the support given to it in the scientific and political world, the deification of Materialism, are all the precursors of Antichrist. It may only require a dissolution of order and a corruption of morals, greater and more universal

¹ Ellicott's St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, p. 109.

² Commentary on the Thessalonians in the Speaker's Commentary, vol. iii. p. 742.

³ Lillie's Lectures on the Thessalonians, p. 537 ff.

than that which occurred in the first French Revolution, to usher in the coming of the Man of Sin, who amid the confusion will seize upon the sceptre of dominion. We may figure him as an individual—a man of more commanding abilities and far greater wickedness than the first Napoleon; one who will subdue the world, and in the height of his impiety and ambition proclaim his Atheism, and that Man himself is God. We cannot penetrate into the future, but we may rest confident that if such a state of things should happen, the final victory of the good over the evil cannot be doubted; the breath of the Lord is sufficient to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, and to baffle all his pretensions: "Whom the Lord shall slay with the breath of His mouth, and annihilate with the appearance of His coming."

P. J. GLOAG.

STUDIES IN THE MINOR PROPHETS.

JOEL.

1. The Place of Joel in the line of the Prophetic Word.

JEROME, the great Latin Father, described the Scriptures by a very significant and suggestive title. He called them "the Divine Library." The modern school of Biblical research has laid special stress upon the fact that the books which we find collected together in the Old and New Testaments represent the long course of ages during which they were written. has compelled us to ask, with regard to each individual volume in the sacred library, not only at what time it was published, but how far it is the outcome of the place and circumstances from which it proceeded? The true doctrine of a progressive revelation, given to man "at sundry times and in divers manners," has impressed upon us the living unity of the Book, which yet is characterized by an inexhaustible variety. runs through all the volumes of this "library" a purpose, which is never hidden except to careless readers—an organic principle, which binds all together in more than a structural order, forming them into a true "body" of life, which has grown up during fifteen hundred years into its present fulness of shape and feature, because it has been possessed and animated by a Divine Spirit. Now it is a maxim of an advanced science, that harmony of development presupposes There can be no smallest part of that structural unity. which grows into an organic whole which has not its specific value, and its general relation to the end wrought out. of the most startling and brilliant discoveries in our time have been due to the stedfast application of that principle.

The mysteries of the world unfold themselves to the intellect of man just in proportion as that intellect grows in power to comprehend the manifold relations of the different objects and kingdoms to one another. Knowledge becomes every day more and more the disclosing of a perfect order, which is absolutely universal, embracing the vastness of the universe, and filling that vastness with the same infinite Mind. is, in the study of the Bible, that minute attention to individual books promotes the understanding of the volume as a whole. A close and careful study of such small works as the Book of Joel is of the greatest service in defining the progressive advancement of the divine purpose, and in building together the scriptural truth, regarded as a complete revelation. There are but three chapters, and eighty-three verses in this small writing. A hasty glance over them might lead us to the conclusion that they have little more than a practical significance. Joel was a preacher of repentance to backsliding These chapters are the substance of a few earnest appeals to his fellow-countrymen to turn from the error of their ways, and avert threatened judgments by a sincere, heartfelt acknowledgment before God and acceptance of His promised grace. But full as the little book is of practical force and worth, it is a very superficial treatment of it which looks no further than its application to the people amongst whom it was first published. In these papers we propose to study, as attentively as possible, the mission which was appointed to Joel, as one who held an important place in the development of divine truth. It is almost universally admitted that he was, if not the first of the prophets whose writings have come down to us, at all events one who stood quite at the beginning of written prophecy. Such a man, at such an epoch, must have given something like the keynote to those who followed him. Not, indeed, that there was any discovery in revelation at that time. Not that Joel sounded any new note in the strain of inspired voices. He said nothing which

had not been said ages before him. He preached on texts which were already to be found in the Psalms of David, in the Pentateuch of Moses, in the history of his people. if, as we hold, he was the first of those whose ministries have been summarized for us in the sixteen books of prophets, if he was closely followed by Amos and Hosea, and then by the still greater messengers Micah and Isaiah, it will be evident that every word which fell from him would have an influence on the subsequent development of truth, and must require, therefore, the utmost consideration from the student of Scripture. The Book of Jonah, which preceded that of Joel, is not, as the other prophetical books, a collection of inspired messages delivered by a prophet to the people. is the story of a prophet's mission to Ninevell. In the fact that such a book immediately preceded the ministry of Joel, we can understand the special significance which would attach to the words of one who spoke of the outpouring of the spirit of repentance upon Judah, as Jonah had recorded the extraordinary fact, the outpouring of that spirit on a heathen people. It must be remembered that the books of prophecy which have come down to us are, in all probability, only remains of teaching which may have occupied years. not follow, because nothing is found in these few chapters which directly refers to Jonah and Nineveh, that the facts of that remarkable mission, and still more remarkable conversion, were unknown to the people of Judah. But whether they were so or not, it still remains for us to connect together, in the reading of Scripture, the two books which so illustrate and enforce one another. We must study Joel as holding a place between Jonah and the remaining prophets.

But it is necessary to look back a great deal farther than the time of Jonah in order to understand the position occupied by Joel in the line of prophecy. There was a very broad distinction between the two kinds of ministry exercised by prophets in the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. This we can recognise instantly that we call to mind the facts described in connection with the suppression of idolatry in the reign of Ahab under the leading of the prophet Elijah. The prophets of Israel were very numerous, so much so that they were hidden by fifty in a cave. There was a large body of religious teachers distributed through the land, and no doubt their ministry was one of the widest and most general kind, as there was no such central source of religious influence among the ten tribes as was maintained in Jerusalem, and which certainly preserved the two tribes of Judah from the rapid degeneracy into which the northern population fell. work of religious reformation and constitution which was carried on by King David in Jerusalem, and which was ultimately mainly gathered about the temple, for a time diffused a powerful spirit of order and theocratic faithfulness over the whole land. The people were deeply affected by the example of their monarch, who had been himself trained in the school of Samuel, and was a prophet of the highest inspiration, as we see in his psalms, while, at the same time, he placed the services of the house of God on a new footing of solemnity and regularity. It was not likely that, while the personal superiority of David was before the minds of the people, they would fall back from such an example. But the reign of Solomon brought in a spirit of luxury, and led to an entangling and seducing intercourse with heathen nations. is true that the temple itself was built with lavish expenditure, and its ritual developed with gorgeous attractiveness, and that the intellectual eminence of the king contributed somewhat to the diffusion through the land of knowledge and wisdom. But the maintenance of a religious system is not all that is required at such a time. The people were contented that there should be a magnificent representation of their religion in Jerusalem, while they themselves were sinking more and more into corruption and indifference. The revolt of the ten tribes under Jeroboam was as much due to the religious

decline which had been long proceeding as to political discon-Hence we find that one of the first acts of the rebel leader was to effect an entire separation of the tribes under his influence from the temple at Jerusalem, and to pander as much as possible to the idolatrous tendencies which were at work among them. Jeroboam "made Israel to sin" by setting up false gods. But he could not thus have alienated them from their national worship unless there had been an idolatrous spirit spread through the tribes. Now it was not possible that such a state of things should be changed so long as the separation continued which divided the nation into two hostile peoples. The influence of Jerusalem was henceforth altogether cut off from the tribes beyond the limits of Judah and Benjamin. And hence it was that, by the gracious appointment of Jehovah, a special development of the prophetic ministry took place in that part of the land where the spiritual darkness was greatest. The setting up of the golden calves by Jeroboam was the signal for a large migration southwards of the more faithful Israelites, with their priests and Levites. "The priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to Rehoboam out of all their coasts. For the Levites left their suburbs and their possessions, and came to Judah and Jerusalem; for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the Lord: and he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he made. And after them out of all the tribes of Israel such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel came to Jerusalem, to sacrifice unto the Lord God of their fathers. So they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong, three years: for three years they walked in the way of David and Solomon" (2 Chron. xi. 13-17). "A new priesthood was introduced in Israel absolutely dependent on the king, not forming, as under the Mosaic law, a landed aristocracy, not respected by the people, and unable either to withstand the oppression or to strengthen the weakness of a

A priesthood created so, but devised for secular purposes, had no hold whatever on the consciences of the To meet their spiritual cravings a succession of prophets was raised up, great in their poverty, their purity, their austerity, their self-dependence, their moral influence, but imperfectly organized,—a rod to correct and check the civil government, not, as they might have been under happier circumstances, a staff to support it" (W. T. Bullock in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible). It will be easy to understand that the peculiar circumstances surrounding the prophets of Israel during the first years of the revolt would necessitate that their ministry should be almost entirely oral, and that they should be more men of the type of Elijah and Elisha than such as left their written prophecies behind them in subsequent times. The gifts of speech were accompanied, in some instances, by gifts of miraculous power-when the mission of the prophet was in itself unusual, and the corruption of the monarch and his people had reached a final climax. In the case of the numerous prophets which seem to have been sent to Israel, it was probably their chief vocation to preach the righteousness of the law, and to rebuke the heathenish practices of the people, by means of an itinerant ministry, fulfilled in a very simple manner and with no very special inspiration.

The reign of Ahab with his idolatrous queen Jezebel was a period of great darkness, because of the attempt upon the part of the queen to introduce into Israel the worship of Baal in all its pomp, and to destroy the religion which the people still professed to maintain as the religion of their fathers. The prophets of Jehovah were persecuted, and the false prophets of Baal and Asherah introduced by hundreds into the land, while a temple was erected to Baal in Samaria, and an oracular grove was consecrated in the name of Astarte. It was at that darkest hour in the history of Israel that prophecy received a new impulse in the person of Elijah. The history of his mission is given us in a very fragmentary manner, but we

are able to see that it lifted up into a new prominence the character of the prophet as God's messenger to the nation, and hence no doubt the introduction of miracles into Elijah's ministry. Miracles are never sent except when they are They are generally the signs of a new epoch, of required. an extraordinary manifestation of the divine word, of a new stage in the progressive development of revelation. was immediately followed by Elisha, and Elisha's ministry took up and carried forward the reformation which had been commenced by the sterner prophet. Elijah was the fire of destruction in the midst of the enemies of Jehovah. successor, though called at times to be a minister of judgment. was chiefly "a still small voice" of healing and consolation. Elisha was a great worker of miracles, and in him the predictive character of the prophet came forth into special manifestation. Moreover, while Elijah limited his ministry to Israel, Elisha, both by his miracles and by his predictions, opened up a connection with heathen nations as receiving spiritual benefits from God's people, which became from that time one of the leading truths before the minds of the prophets. Hitherto there was no possibility of preaching wider views of the vocation of God's people, for they were so terribly corrupt, and so much under the influence of false religion, that it was only a ministry like Elijah's which was adapted to their moral But when the Baal priests were destroyed and Jezebel was punished, the ministry of prophets might find a larger scope-"Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel." The recollection of Elisha's miracles and teaching must have prepared the way in some measure for what God very plainly told the people at last by the extraordinary facts of Jonah's history and mission, that instead of being themselves subdued by the idolatry of other nations, and sinking into their depth of wickedness and misery, they might teach them the Truth which had been vouchsafed to their nation, and become, what they were called to be, the messengers of righteousness to the whole world.

was no long time after the death of Elisha that Jonah exercised his ministry, and we can well believe that he based his preaching upon the same lines. He may not have been a man of the same eminence, but he was prominently before the eyes of the people, for it was at a great crisis when "the affliction of Israel was very bitter," in the time of Jeroboam II., that Jonah came forward to comfort the nation by predicting victory, and that the fulfilment of his prediction set him on a pinnacle of honour, from which all that he said and all that was connected with him could have a very wide influence both in Israel and in Judah. But the degeneracy of the whole nation was not arrested. The prophets warned them in vain. The horizon was growing darker. The shadows The "high places" were not removed. idolatry was not exterminated. The monarchs were still unfaithful to the theocratic law of their kingdom. and Elisha became great figures of the past. The miracles ceased. The sign of the prophet Jonah remained a mystery which the people were too worldly and too narrow-minded to lay to heart. Judah and Israel fought with one another, and began to seek alliances with foreign nations in order to maintain their respective superiority. In the darkness, which grew more dense in such a state of confusion, the mission of the prophet was the only point of light. Hence the change in the method of prophetic teaching. About eight centuries before Christ, when the patience of Jehovah was drawing to an end, the spirit of prophecy concentrates the rebukes and threatenings into distinct predictions of approaching punish-In two hundred years from that time the whole extent of the nation would be swept with the storm of divine Israel would be first visited, and its idol altars wrath consumed in one tremendous overthrow, which would cast out the ten tribes into remote Assyria. Judah would be then judged, and its almost as abominable corruption would be purged by a captivity which, though it was limited to a

specific period of seventy years, would be as marked a vindication of Jehovah's righteousness. The whole nation, the whole twelve tribes of Israel, would be dispersed over heathen They had dishonoured their position in their own land. They had renounced their vocation to be the messengers of Jehovah to the world. He must fulfil His own purposes by His own methods. Even against their will they must The ancient Scriptures which they become His witnesses. had trampled under foot must be brought out into the new light of providential dispensation. New Scriptures must be prepared which should be steeped in the reality of new facts. Words of God must be uttered which should thrill every heart with a power of the Spirit, with the authority of a righteous God, who would never forsake His people, never violate His covenant, never cease to be the God of truth and the God of mercy, ministering His law and love to the whole world. The epoch of written prophecy coincides with the epoch of approaching judgment. As the nations to whom the ministration of wrath was committed appear on the horizon of Palestine, the ministry of prophets acquires the additional feature which would give to it a more definite and permanent influence, it becomes embodied in written messages on which the seal of divine authority was set, and which no doubt were distributed among the people, and studied by the more faithful ones among them. It was of supreme importance when events were about to happen which would be so intimately connected with the future of the people of God, with the future of the world through them, that there should be in the hands of the true Church a body of Scriptures, expounding the meaning of those events, connecting them with the whole line of divine dispensations, furnishing each generation, as it came, with the materials both of faith and of hope. We have only to think how each prophet, in the succession of prophets who ministered to Israel and Judah from the ninth century onwards, utilized the writings of those who went before him, and what inestimable value must have been attached to such writings during the period of the captivity, when the Jewish Church was cut off altogether from the religious privileges once enjoyed in Palestine, to understand the momentousness of the change which took place when prophets were no longer contented to move among the people preaching and working miracles, but came forth with a burden of the Lord upon their minds, which they laid down by putting into the permanent form of Scripture that which the Holy Ghost had sent to them with special divine authority. The Church of God was not extinct in the midst of all the darkness. The testimony of the individual soon became the testimony of an inspired community—the faithful and devout contemporaries of the prophets. Scripture was read, and copied and handed on with the seal of the true Church attached to it. And thus the word of God, like a stream which had flowed forth from a source high up among the mountains of sacred antiquity, gathered volume as it wound its way among the changing scenes and events of the national history, the same, and yet not the same, always carrying forward the current of grace, always rearing the ocean of a universal truth, which should be a bond of union between all nations, and a redemption of "all the families of the earth."

But Joel was a prophet in the kingdom of Judah. To understand what his position was, it will be necessary to recall a few facts with respect to the religious state of the two tribes whose capital was Jerusalem. We have already referred to the influence of David on the whole nation. That influence was of course most powerful and most prolonged at Jerusalem. The sacerdotal caste was an ecclesiastical aristocracy pledged to the maintenance of the religious traditions. The smallness of the kingdom provided a sphere of religious influence more under the control of the constituted authorities than the kingdom of the ten tribes. The country was less exposed to disturbance from without, and the people of Judah

were always sustained by the feeling that they were the royal tribe out of whom it was predicted the great Ruler would come, and to whom splendid promises were made. On the whole, the monarchs who reigned in the southern kingdom were better and abler men than those in the north, and they were more under the influence of the theocratic principle. Idolatry never obtained anything like the same hold of Judah which it did of Israel. Some of the successors of David on the throne emulated his example, and strove to purify the kingdom from its evils. One of the greatest of the kings before the time of Joel was Jehoshaphat, who came to the throne in 914 B.C., and reigned twenty-five years. character is well set off in contrast with his contemporary in Israel, the weak and idolatrous Ahab. His great political error was alliance with the northern kingdom against Damascus, and the tribes of the Syrian frontier, and the marriage of his eldest son Jehoram with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. But the distinguishing feature of his reign was a vigorous religious reformation, at the head of which the king himself stood. He not only removed the high places and idolatrous groves, but reformed the priesthood, and by a royal commission visited the cities of his kingdom, calling the people together to the reading of the law, and pledging them to an observance of its prescriptions. Princes, priests, and Levites all took part in this work of reformation. effect of it must have been very great and lasting. Justice was better administered. Prosperity flowed into the kingdom. Victory attended the monarch in his wars both in the north and in the south. He was not a strong character, but he was a typical successor of King David, and the effect of his reign was a revival of religion in the land. But the miserable fruits of an alliance with the house of Ahab soon showed themselves. Idolatry again increased. The land was afflicted with calamity and bloodshed. The usurpation of Athaliah, however, brought affairs to a crisis, and the religious spirit which Jehoshaphat had nourished came forth with energetic expression in the character and action of Jehoiada the high priest, who had married Jehoshaba, the aunt of the heir to the throne, and rescued the young king from the murderous He succeeded in placing the true violence of Athaliah. successor of David on the throne, and thus struck a deathblow at idolatry. The true worship of God, which was in danger. "Waiting patiently till the tyranny of Athaliah, was restored. and, we may presume, her foreign practices and preferences, had produced disgust in the land, he at length, in the seventh year of his reign, entered into a secret alliance with all the chief. partisans of the house of David and of the true religion. also collected at Jerusalem the Levites from the different cities of Judah and Israel, probably under cover of providing for the temple services, and there concentrated a large and concealed force in the temple, by the expedient of not dismissing the old courses of priests and Levites when their successors came to relieve them on the Sabbath. By means of the consecrated shields and spears which David had taken in his wars, and which were preserved in the treasury of the temple, he supplied the captains of hundreds with arms for their men. then divided the priests and Levites into three bands, which were posted at the principal entrance, and filled the courts with people favourable to the cause, he produced the young king before the whole assembly, and crowned and anointed him, and presented to him a copy of the law according to Deut. xviii. 18-20. The excitement of the moment did not make him forget the sanctity of God's house. None but the priests and ministering Levites were permitted by him to enter the temple, and he gave strict orders that Athaliah should be carried without its precincts before she was put to In the same spirit he inaugurated the new reign by a solemn covenant between himself, as high priest, and the people and the king, to renounce the Baal-worship which had been introduced by the house of Ahab, and to serve Jehovali.

This was followed up by the immediate destruction of the altar and temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan his priest. He then took order for the due celebration of the temple service, and at the same time for the perfect re-establishment of the monarchy, all which seems to have been effected with great vigour and success, and without any cruelty or violence." (Smith's Dict. art. "Jehoiada.") Such was the man, and his influence on Judah was no doubt immense. But in 834 B.C. Jehoiada died, and the young king soon forsook the way which had been opened to him. The son of Jehoiada. Zechariah, his successor in the priesthood, was murdered in an attempt to resist the evil courses of the king. judgments of a righteous God soon fell both upon the king himself and upon his evil counsellors. Such events must have produced a very deep impression on the people. And it was probably very shortly after their occurrence, and while they were fresh in memory, that Joel commenced his ministry. A glance over the few chapters of his prophecy is sufficient to show that the prophet is not protesting against any fresh outbreak of idolatry, but rather is speaking to a people who have relaxed their vigilance, and sunk into a state of practical indifference and neglect of the house of God. The view of the inspired seer is directed to a distant future. He sees the working out of evil principles that have already been chastised by the visitations of Divine Providence, but will yet, unless the people be filled with a deep and true repentance, bring down upon them a far more terrible judgment. more than a national feeling in the language of Joel. lifts up his eyes upon the wider sphere of "all nations." beholds in Judah the central point of a great scheme of divine jurisdiction. The day of the Lord has a vaster and vaster world on which it shall reveal itself. The true Israel is safe. and shall come forth into the glory. "The heavens and the earth shall shake; but the Lord shall be the Hope of His people and the strength of the children of Israel." "Judah

shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation." There can be little doubt that Joel prophesied at that important transition period, in the reign of Amaziah (837-808 B.C.), and at the commencement of the reign of Uzziah or Azariah (808-757 B.C.), when Judah was beginning to rise out of the long decline which had taken place after the reign of Jehoshaphat, through the treachery of the royal family and alliance with Samaria. A succession of able monarchs did much to restore former greatness to the kingdom. But it was by no mere external conquests that recovery could be achieved, it was by no royal road that Judah could return to the favour Joel was sent to preach a spiritual restoration as preparatory to the outpouring of divine blessings on the land. It is very remarkable that two great and terrible visitations in the form of public calamities were sent at that time as though to supply the true prophets with texts on which they could preach the change of heart and life which Jehovah required. These were the plague of locusts, referred to by the prophet Joel, and the earthquake which occurred in the reign of Uzziah, referred to by Amos (i. 1). Both prophets place the natural event at the very head of their messages, as though to call attention to the fact that they were speaking in the name of One who revealed Himself in the grand and awful world around them, as well as in the worship of the temple and in the venerable dictates of the Law of Moses. simplicity and reality of such an appeal to natural laws and natural facts runs through the whole of Joel's prophecy. has often been remarked that there is an abruptness and directness in his style which reminds us almost of Elijah But the main feature of the book is the lifting up of himself. the prophetic voice to the higher tones of a spiritual kingdom which in its first broad lines is called up before the faith of God's people. The whole nation is invited to rejoice in divine A kingdom of prophets and priests shall be inspiration. hereafter a kingdom of princes and mighty rulers of the earth.

The promises which were still treasured up in Judah, and of which the glorious kingdom of David and Solomon had been the embodiment, should yet be fulfilled. " The sceptre" should be given to those from whom the Lord had said it should "never depart." But the mission of the true prophet is to proclaim the divine order. The prosperity which blossoms on the "tree of righteousness" flows from the root which goes down into the depth of the heart, into the very soul itself. The messenger sent from God denounces all false confidence, all mere outside shows of reformation, all "rending of garments" which is not a rending of the inward man, and at the same time points to the streaks of light upon the horizon, the dawn of the brighter day, terrible to all hypocrisy and falsehood, glorious to those that fear the name of the Lord, and open their hearts to His Spirit. Upon such, it was the announcement which Joel proclaimed, and which prophet after prophet repeated with ever more stirring and attractive tones and widening predictions, down to the last of the prophets, Malachi, "the Son of Rightcousness shall arise with healing in His wings."

R. A. REDFORD.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

THE appearance in an English dress of Weiss' Life of Christ 1 will be presumably interesting to a large number of readers. must content ourselves with a brief account of what is remarkable in this production. The first book (pp. 3-190) gives a review of the sources, the author's conclusions resting upon previous investiga-The first Gospel cannot be by Matthew; according to unanimous tradition, Matthew wrote in Aramaic. It may be conjectured that that earliest apostolic document was incorporated completely with our first Gospel, to which also have been transferred, with few unimportant exceptions, the entire contents of the second Gospel. Some other sources, and in part oral tradition, were accessible to the writer. His object was not to prove the Messiahship of Jesus, but to remove stumbling-blocks out of the way of Jewish Christians, who had seen their national hopes shattered by the fall of the Jewish state and capital, A.D. 70. He was not a native of Palestine, but one of the Dispersion. Matthew's original work is irrevocably lost, but his invaluable memoranda are preserved in this "Gospel of the Jewish Christians." The statement that Mark's Gospel was written in Rome and for Romans is confirmed by the internal evidence; its date was probably about 69 A.D., the work of Matthew having appeared in 67, and being known at Rome in a Greek translation. The Gospel of Luke or "of the Gentile Christians" shows a great quantity of material in common with the first; and thus the important discovery has been made that the source which the first evangelist combined with Mark's narrative was also employed by Luke, together with the second Gospel. The third Gospel is not biography in the purely historical sense; Luke avows a didactic purpose in his preface, being himself a Pauline Gentile Christian, and desiring to confirm Pauline doctrine from the history of Jesus Himself. Its date is probably about 80. Weiss vindicates the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel against the Tübingen school, and places its date about As to its historic credibility, compared with the Synoptics, it is incontestable that the Johannine speeches display the type of doctrine and language found in the Prologue and the Epistle of John. The Gospel is in large part a work of art, containing "insertions,"

¹ The Life of Christ. By Dr. B. Weiss. Translated by J. W. Hofe, M.A., and M. G. Hofe. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

"amplifications," "interpretations," "elucidations," "allegorical filling up and application." "The personal witness took up a position of greater freedom towards the speeches of his Master than did any one else." The theological object of the composition is clearly stated in the Prologue. It is not a biography, but a "representation from a higher standpoint." It is "a spiritual way of writing history;" and vet we are not to conclude that the materials were invented. and that the forms which move in it are not real persons, but ideal types. This would be "pure wilfulness." Yet the author himself admits that "the historical colouring of the life of Jesus has lost all significance for this evangelist, although occasional indications show that he was acquainted with it as well and even better than the others." Surely one of the most remarkable admissions, which the author endeavours to weaken the force of by presently asserting that the Gospel "deals not with ideas the value of which lies in the fact of their being thought, but with truths which have value only if they actually are." This is painful floundering. Dr. Weiss draws back from his own conclusions in alarm, as it would seem, at the inferences that may be drawn from them. In what follows on "Eye Witness and Tradition," while the author seems to be adopting an apologetic attitude and tone, he makes admissions most damaging to orthodoxy, even of a liberal kind. The infirmity of memory and the effect of distance upon the imagination of the eve-witness are dwelt upon. To vaunt the literal accuracy of the words of the Lord in the Gospels may be left to simple people and "embarrassed apologetes;" historical criticism will not permit it. Dr. Weiss laughs at those same apologetes who in their naïveté transfer the modern requirement of literality to times when no such requirement was felt. For example, the Old Testament is never literally cited in the New; the words of God are interpreted, made more emphatic, and accommodated to apostolic use. Such was the freedom of the age, that anything like a verbal reproduction of the sayings and speeches of Jesus was not to be thought of. Then if we ask how the facts are to be distinguished from these free inventions of "naive narrators," the answer is that this "can only be ascertained by us through the way in which the evangelists modify what lay in writing before them, so far as this is in our possession." In other words, we must repose in Dr. Weiss' critical acumen. Then again, what did lie in writing before the evangelists was not sacred to them; they thought it would be all the better for a little correction, colouring. and altering in various ways. In short, much in the Gospels is plausible fiction, with a didactic and edifying purpose. In the next

chapter, on "Legend and Myth," Dr. Weiss makes a show of brandishing the weapons of defence against Strauss, but he fights as one that beateth the air, and gives the impression of one who has not clearly made up his mind on these subjects. a similar remark applies to the next chapter, on "Truth and When we get to chap. xii., "The Historical Representation of the Life of Jesus," we begin to wonder how such a representation is to be contrived; and do not find our misgiving much relieved by being told that the four Gospels must be welded together by artistic combination, so that no word shall be lost, etc. Presently we read that "it will be understood as a matter of course that by recognising the miracle which lies in the appearance of Jesus. our intention is not to covertly postulate His miraculous generation, or a higher nature originally belonging to Him" (p. 188 in the original). This seems to be indistinguishable from the view of Strauss; and in general through the book we see Weiss retreating before the rationalists, fighting, or making a show of doing so, but still retreating, until, as far as we can see, he has left himself no consistent ground to stand upon. If the temptation in the desert is only an "inner process," and the miracle of Cana only one of "foresight," and the transfiguration only a "God-wrought vision," on what grounds is the objective truth of the raising of Lazarus or of the resurrection of the Saviour Himself defended? We cannot understand how any portion of the theological world should have deceived themselves as to the real character of this book, which "gives away," to use an Americanism, the historicity of the Gospels, while appearing to be trying to save it. Something may be due to the haziness of the style. Dr. Weiss belongs to none of the existing schools of theology. The impression left is of one halting between two opinions, and struggling with ill success against the terrible criticism of Strauss by an attempt to "forget what is not convenient to remember, and to blunt the edge of what is too pointed."

In this connection it may be well to notice the fourth and final volume of Havet's Christianity and its Origins. M. Havet is advanced in life, an eminent professor in the College de France. He writes frankly from the rationalist standpoint of the eighteenth century. Miracles and prophecy are dismissed on the threshold as incredible. He expresses, in common with Voltaire, reverence and love for the founder of Christianity, and for the "moral ardour" which glows in

⁴ Le Christianisme et ses Origines. E. HAVET. Tom. iv. Paris: Calmann Léry. 1884.

the Gospels. He dwells upon their discrepancies, and insists that the only way to get rid of the impression made by Strauss' minute criticism is not to read him; he cannot be seriously answered point by point. Mark's is the most ancient Gospel, but all were written after the destruction of Jerusalem. That Jesus pretended to be the Christ; that He was condemned by the Sanhedrim, and that Pilate executed the sentence; that He announced the divine rejection of the Jews and Judaism: none of these propositions are historically true, according to M. Havet's destructive criticism. When these and many other matters have been eliminated, there remains the figure of Jesus, a pure Jew, who never said nor did anything that was not Jewish: but one full of inspiration and exaltation, living by the heart rather than by thought, full of tenderness for the poor and the lowly, sharing the feeling of detachment from the world and its interests belonging to a melancholy time, which gave birth to the strange community of the Essenes. But after all, Jesus remains for us a "noble and touching phantom," little known as compared with the vivid image we can form of Paul's. M. Havet finds the Gospels imbued deeply with the superstitious credulity which prevailed everywhere. He cites the striking story in Tacitus ix. 81 of the blind man at Alexandria, who besought Vespasian to cure him by the application of saliva to his cheeks and mouth. miracles have been borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures and renewed for Jesus. The most shocking of these "aberrations of the human spirit" are the expulsions of demons; and the horrors of Middle Age persecution of witches are traced to belief in these narratives. M. Havet dwells with delight upon the moral beauty and tender humanity of the Gospels; but revolts again from the "hyperbole" about plucking out the offending eye, the undying worm, and the unquenchable fire, as implying a melancholy idea of the goodness and justice of God. Sometimes the Gospels are full of hate. The account of the Passion is a touching work of imagination. but without historical exactitude. The popular character of the Gospels accounts for their prodigious success. They brought into the world a democratic literature instead of an aristocratic literature. "If they have lived so long, it is because the multitude of the little and the suffering put their soul into them, having then no other They dreamed in these books, when it was not given them to Such was the illusion, that when the multitude brought about the revolution chez nous, they sometimes believed they were doing it after the Gospel, while in reality the revolution is destined to efface the Gospel for ever."

M. Havet has a careful study on the resurrection and Paul, It may be imagined from the foregoing how he treats these subjects. A close analysis of Pauline doctrines is given, and his character is reviewed on its many sides; for which M. Havet evidently feels strong admiration, despite the gloomy ideas for the diffusion of which in the world Paul was partly responsible. But Paul's writings have no future, and are destined to give way before the growing light of the revolution. M. Havet writes delightful lucid French prose; and his work produces the impression of a dignified, honourable, conscientious, and humane spirit. For all that, we cannot agree with his conclusion that there is nothing marvellous in Christianity. On the contrary, after reading his work, the impression of its marvel grows upon us; and probably the distinguished Bishop of Autun, M. Perraud, is in the right, if, without answering M. Havet in detail, he points to the "standing miracle of Christianity." Somehow the impression steals upon one after "criticism" has done its best and worst, that our religion can neither be attacked nor defended by the methods of logic; that its foundations lie deep, out of sight, broader and more enduring than our poor apologetic has ever imagined; a faith standing not in the wisdom of men, and not by wisdom to be overthrown. M. Jean Réville, in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, while speaking with respect of M. Havet, censures him as dealing too much in à priori criticism, and as deficient in insight into the genius and spirit of religion.

ANOTHER aged professor, Mr. F. W. Newman, has written a small treatise ¹ which attacks Christianity with much the same weapons as the French scholar, and with perhaps a more decided animus. The kind of arguments he uses are easily apprehensible, and are such as may be frequently heard in discussions among working men. The mass of them are, however, we believe, as indifferent to nibbling and captious criticism on Christianity as they are to similar attacks upon the great institutions of the country. Popular apologetes are on strong ground when they avoid the unsafe ground of doubtful texts and difficulties which cannot be got over, and point to the manner in which Christianity is inseparably interwoven with the civilisation of the nation.

THE Abbé le Camus has written a life of Christ 2 in two vols., in

^{· 1} Christianity in its Cradle. By F. W. NEWMAN.

² La lie de N.S. Jésus Christ. 2 tomes. Paris: Poussielgue Frères, 1883.

which he seeks at once to remove dogmatic difficulties from the Roman Catholic point of view, and to allay the doubts excited by "the dangerous work of Dr. Strauss." He lays "one hand on the Credo of the Church, the other on the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas." In point of scholarship the work is somewhat antiquated.

THE sixth and concluding volume of Keim's History of Jesus of Nazareth 1 has appeared in the English translation; also Ewald's sixth volume, The Life and Times of Christ.2 Though not orthodox on important points, there is a glowing sympathy in Ewald with his subject; and if his clumsy style can be got over, he may be read with edification. Canon Liddon has noticed the German original at the end of his Bampton Lectures. A cheap edition of Geikie's Life of Christ has appeared; also a second edition of Dr. Edersheim's work on the same subject. The latter is somewhat disappointing on many subjects where, from the extraction of the author, we should have expected fuller elucidations. Dr. Edersheim intends his work in part as an Apologia pro vita sua: but he is too much occupied with argument where we want Elias, for example, and the manner in which he appears in the Talmud and Jewish folk-belief, is a most interesting It is vaguely and weakly treated by Dr. Edersheim. There is a certain "continuity" about Elias, he says, apparently echoing Ewald. But the Jewish writer Jellinek, a man full of poetic feeling, says that the nation's heart is reflected in the folkpoesy about Elias; he is in fact "the everlasting Jew." Here is a point at which Dr. Edersheim should have set up all his lustres, as it Then again, he seems to be vaguely fencing with Dr. seems to us. A. Wuensche, who has made valuable contributions to the illustration of Scripture from Rabbinical sources. Bulky as are the volumes, the work still wants solidity and science. Moreover, we have had enough of rhetoric and sermonizing in lives of Christ.

M. Joel, in his book on the conflict of heathenism and Christianity, published last year, seeks, following in the steps of Phillippson and other Reformed Jews, to show that the Jews were innocent of the crucifixion. Until the beginning of the second century, Judaism and Christianity were one religion. It was then that Christian apologetes of gnostic tendencies set up an anti-Semitic opposition, and represented the genesis of Christianity as if it had from the beginning been

¹ History of Jesus of Nazareth. By Th. Keim. Translated by Δ. Ransom. Vol. vi. Williams & Norgate. 1888.

² History of Israel. Vol. vi. Longmans. 1884.

opposed to Judaism. He alludes to Barnabas, Justin, Auctor ad Diognetum, etc., as forerunners of the modern anti-Semitism.

DR. E. Monter, in his Essay on the Origin of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Paris: Fischbacher), adheres to Wellhausen's theory. At the same time he has a theory of his own, that the Hellenists of the earlier post-exilian time were continued first in the Maccabees, then further in the Sadducees; while the scribes from the exile furnished first the Chasidees and then the Pharisees.

WE have been somewhat disappointed with the last Hibbert Lecture. A few years ago Dr. Réville published his Prolégomènes to the History of Religions, a book which has recently been translated into English, and which furnishes a convenient general introduction to a great subject. We had hoped that in the interval the professor had deepened and enlarged his views. The present volume, however, reads more like a drawing-room lecture than a solid contribution to M. Réville speaks of Mr. Max Müller as "one of his most honoured masters" (p. 13); and no one would wish to deny the many merits of that agreeable writer. Nevertheless, we cannot look upon him as a very safe or sound guide in matters of religious philosophy and mythology. A Frenchman once described the Germans as "a nation of the name of Müller." At any rate there have been other Müllers besides Max: rixere fortes ante Agamemnona. are thinking in particular of one very able mythological critic of that name who has designated the views of the school of Comparative Mythology, to which Mr. Max Müller belongs, as "aberrations of a pseudo-science which has not yet attained to clearness on the nature Had M. Réville laid to heart the teachings of another Müller, him called Otfried, whose white tomb glistens near Athens, and whose Prolegomena have been recently reviewed by the French professor in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, he would hardly, as it seems to us, have committed himself so incautiously to those "solar" hypotheses, which have obtained, now for many years and not to the advantage of science, so great a currency in the learned world. M. Réville repeatedly points out that essentially the same problems present themselves in connection with the Mexican and Peruvian religions as in those of classical antiquity. From this point of view, then, the lecturer's positions may be briefly criticized. One of the fundamental features of the religion of Central America, we are told, was "the pre-eminence of the sun, regarded as a personal and animated being. At Guatemala he was adored directly without any

¹ The Hibbert Lecture, 1884. Williams & Norgate.

images." Elsewhere "he was represented as a round human head encircled by diverging rays and with a great open mouth. symbol indeed was very widely spread in all that region. Often the sun is represented as putting out his tongue, which means that he lives and speaks. For in the American hieroglyphics a protruded tongue, or a tongue placed by the side of any object, is the emblem of life." We should like to know how it can be proved that the Mexicans regarded "the sun" as a personal being. With regard to the well-known symbol, it is composed in part from the orb in the heavens, in part from the human face: was a human face imagined in the luminary, the luminary himself being imagined personal; or was the god in question conceived as anthropomorphic, consequently as having a human face, and was he none the less compared to the sun and symbolized by the sun? Such questions lie at the foundation of the subject; and the ignoring of them, or the confused apprehension of them, affects the whole course of a writer's subsequent statements and reasonings. To talk of "the sun," in our sense of the word, in such connections, seems itself to involve a fallacy; what was thought and felt by the Mexicans about the being in question was so utterly different from anything it is possible for us to think and feel about the celestial luminary, that the only way to avoid confusion would be to speak of him under his Mexican name. For just the same reason, to speak of the Sun in Greek religion instead of the god Helios is at once to import confusion into the subject. We cannot the least make intelligible to ourselves how "the sun" could ever have been the object of those horrible human sacrifices which were so profuse in the religions of How, again, can the sun "put out his tongue," and how does Dr. Réville know that this is a symbol of living and speaking? It is very common in Etruscan religious figures, also in Indian, and always, as we had supposed, an attribute of hellish, fierce, devouring If an Aztec god was the deified sun, why did they call him Uitzilopochtli, or "humming-bird to the left"? It appears that the bird was "a derivative form or determination of the sun," and "came from the sun for the purpose of making himself man, and therefore took flesh in an Aztec woman, Coatlicuc, the serpent, who is none other than the spring florescence, and therefore the Mexican It is not only amongst the Mexicans that the creeping progress of the spring vegetation, stretching along the ground towards the North, has suggested the idea of a divine serpent crawling over the earth. The Athenian myth of Erichthonius is a conception of the same order." Here, again, as we are referred to a Greek parallel,

we must decline to accept any such interpretation of the myth of Erichthonius. Nor can we trace the mythic serpent and the serpentfooted men to any such flimsy conceits as a comparison with creeping grass, or with a winding river, according to another writer. Unfortunately, when once the fixed idea that ancient religious lore is chiefly allegorical of physical phenomena has taken possession of a writer's mind, he is forced to resort to these weak explanations, which, however, seem to us to violate one of the first laws of reasoning, viz. that causes must be adequate to effects. What are we to think of the following elucidation of the purport of the "columns of the sun" in Mexico and Peru? They were objects of the sun's caresses, and they were also symbols of fructifying power (p. 36); in them "the idea of fertilization is associated with that of the pleasure the sun must feel in tracing out their shadows as he caresses their faces and summits with his rays" (p. 223). This is obscura canere with a vengeance; if the learned lecturer knows what he means, we do not. He regards it as a "law of ancient mythology" that "the great gods were derived from a dramatized nature,—animism, with the fetishism that springs from it, occupying the basement beneath these mythological conceptions,—in the midst of all, a tendency manifested from time to time towards a purer and more spiritual conception of the adorable Being." And all this reappears in Mexico, etc. All what? The lecturer is skipping over treacherous ground with light heart and footstep, where he should be making good his method by plodding and patient Spirit and Nature are mighty words. How they are related in our own thought is not so clear that we should be able to plunge into the traditions of an ancient time and fit them to a vague terminology and to ill-thought-out hypotheses of our own. less nature has been a great source of ideas to man; but still more has human society. Doubtless the great objects and changes of the visible world, and the mysterious life of animal and plant, have powerfully excited his curiosity; but still more his own consciousness, with all its horrors and its timidities, its realization of another and invisible world and of spiritual beings, has given him profound unrest. It makes all the difference whether we begin with the interrogation of the signs of the sky or the symptoms of the soul,—what we shall find in a religion. What we wish mainly to point out in connection with the subject is that the foundations of a "science of religions" are not yet laid; and so long as that is the case, the phenomena presented by religious history cannot be properly The recent article on Mythology in the Encyclopædia Britannica by Mr. A. Lang, unfortunately too compressed, may be

referred to as presenting quite another aspect of many of these subjects. For ourselves, we must hold the solar and meteorological theories of religious ideas, now so ripe, as learned hallucinations, not less so than the similar theories applied to the explanation of Christianity in the last century by Dupuis and by Volney.

Dr. Sartorius of Königsberg 1 passed away in 1859; his work stretches from 1840 to 1856. It is a construction of Christian theology on the basis of the proposition, "God is Love." The first section treats of "primary love," or of the nature of God as the union of three Persons; and of the divine image stamped on man at the creation. Man's nature and external conditions are deduced from the divine love. In the next section, "Sin and the Law," sin is explained as self-seeking, the opposite of the self-negation of love; and man finds himself a rebel to the contents of the Law, which is still love. The loveless and selfish heart of man cannot fulfil the law; but there is a susceptibility of redemption which is educated by the Law. This leads to the third section, on Divine Reconciling The vicarious sacrifice of the Redeemer fulfils, in love, the Law; and men are received into communion with the Reconciler through the means of grace. An emphatic Lutheran, or as we say in England, High Church doctrine of the sacraments is taught. Justification as proceeding from the love of God is next treated of, and faith as the appropriation of the Reconciliation. The second part of the book deals with practical and eschatological questions; the first section with divine love as renewing,—in the twofold effect of purifying and of uniting; the second section with divine love as active and obeying; from this Christian morality flows. Finally, in the third section the patience and hope of love in suffering and death are exhibited; and the solemn questions of eternal life, the last judgment, and the victory of love are discussed. occupy some twenty pages; had the writer lived into our time with its theological agitations, they would doubtless have received an ampler treatment. Sartorius is strongly conservative on these topics. While the door of hope is opened to those who have not received divine revelation and have not been guilty of contemptuous rejection of the gospel, those who have persevered in unbelief must abide under the curse of eternal condemnation. The worthy Court preacher is magisterially severe against the "execrable sentimental levity" of our days, which "can approve of eternal happiness in its own sense

¹ The Doctrine of Divine Love. By E. Sartorius. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

of the word, but is much too horrified at its correlative opposite." Eternal life is life in the eternal love; eternal punishment, life in the fire of God's eternal wrath. The idea of an ultimate "general amnesty or apokatastasis" is argued against, the author having before his mind a hard and almost fiendish obstinacy as the attribute of the wicked. The manner in which he continues to scold the "effeminate moralism" of this "reckless generation," who must be told again and again that "there is a hell, a fiery hell," is perhaps rather jarring at the close of a book devoted to so sublime a theme. It will be seen that we have here thoroughgoing, albeit somewhat mystical orthodoxy. It is impossible not to feel as we read that "the times are changing, and we in them." The book may stand beside those of greater men, Julius Müller, Tholuck, Rothe, and others, whose shades seem to flit before us as we turn its pages. They were fine men; their thought, nourished in scholastic seclusion, went into congenial places—the study of the rural pastor or of the cloistered student. In their strength and their weakness they betray their origin: nervous in logic, at home in the world of abstractions, there is a blindness in these masters to the infinite varieties of human nature, the complexities of good and evil in actual human life, and in the constitution of the world in general. The breath of the timespirit, moreover, is upon us all, including German orthodox professors, and we have to come down from our high à priori walks and points of view, to microscopic examination of texts and monuments, on whose once unquestioned infallibility such as Sartorius thought securely to build their systems. There are some quaint things in the The "easy-going neology" which seeks to soften the scriptural representations of the divine wrath is a "noxious palæology," because it seeks to spare the old man (p. 131); and a grave question is raised whether the editors of a certain Zeitschrift "can still pass for theologians," after their "marvellous" explanation of the "evangelical axiom of justification by faith" as the "principle of religiousness," and their resolve to abstain from all dogmatism (p. 302). do not see why dogmatism should be essential to the theological character, however customary the connection; nor how the dogmatism of Sartorius adds either strength or ornament to his worthy attempt at an à priori construction of Christian truth. "Orthodox theology is rooted in the Logos," says Sartorius, "especially in its antithesis to heretical antilogies." The shadow of the Logos lies broadly over Christendom, and hinders the apprehension of what is best both in the ideal and the real world, says Lotze. We must leave our readers to unriddle these dark sayings.

Dr. Mair 1 modestly destines his book, not for professional students, but for intelligent people in our congregations who have felt the pressure of religious doubts; it starts from Theism, and aims to conduct the reader into the central truths of Christianity and a The book is clearly written and clearly reasonable faith therein. thought, and evinces considerable attention to the literature of the time. We are not aware that there is anything particularly novel in it; nor does it travel much beyond the ground of safe generalities. But these general considerations are always wholesome; and the tendency of Dr. Mair's argumentation is in favour of sober, dispassionate thinking and fairness of temper. The subjects dealt with are Christianity and Physical Science-Intellectual Difficulties in Religion-Revelation and Inspiration-Early Historical Testimony to the Authenticity of the New Testament-The Testimony of the Unquestioned Epistles of Paul—Christian Miracles—the Resurrection of Christ-The Unique Personality of Christ-"The Survival of the Fittest" as an Argument for Christianity. The book is earnest and practical, and thoughtful preachers will derive help from its pages.

FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

DR. A. BRAUNE, in Luthardt's Zeitschr, für Kirchliche Wissenschaft, deals with "Epictetus and Christianity." Epictetus is interesting on two grounds—(1) His philosophy is his religion, his confession of faith; philosophy is with him a divine thing, and the wise man is the incarnation of God. (2) He is not acquainted with Christianity, and stands in an unprejudiced attitude towards it, - his philosophy being the last utterance of the ancient view of the world as contrasted with Christianity. It is the expression of a mind void of God, and yet made for Him, the longing cry of a soul from out the desert of the world to the living God. firm point on which he stands is self, his own living personality, his ego. That is the Eye, the Seer, the Discerner of the good and true. All wisdom consists in recognising what is proper to oneself, and all happiness in the preservation of personal freedom, in a will conformed to nature. It is an eminently anthropocentric standpoint. This is also the Christian's standpoint, only that he deems the new-born anthropos alone competent. He looks at the world from the Christianocentric point of view; but, like Epictetus, his aim in this world

¹ Studies in the Christian Evidences. By A. MAIR, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

is to preserve that regenerate ego, his highest wisdom to recognise what is profitable for it, and his highest happiness freedom in accordance with God's will. Both are self-centred, but their worlds are different.

Epictetus says, all things fall into two classes: those which lie within human power, viz. the free activities of the soul; and those which do not so lie, and are not our proper work—the body, possessions, fame, etc. Good and evil are to be found only in the former sphere—in the inward life; and all that is external is indifferent in respect of moral worth and happiness. Here, too, Christianity is in formal agreement, as may be seen from the doctrine of hereditary sin. External things are not responsible for human guilt, nor can the creaturely world exert a regenerating influence on the soul. But the Christian recognises his moral freedom as the gift of God; and his consciousness is thus the fulfilment of that which is only anticipated or yearned for in Epictetus.

The external world only acquires moral significance when it is brought into the realm of the Ego. It has no moral worth except that imparted by the seeing mind. Outward things are consonants, soundless of themselves; the Ego brings the vowels to them. shipwreck or a trial has no importance till the philosopher shows So far as the light of self-knowledge shines in the world. so far is the world known or knowable. Philosophy is self-affirmative. and the world is worth just what we can find of our own self in it. Here again there is formal agreement, but difference of principle in Christianity. The Lord's Prayer, by the repeated our and us, reminds us that the world is ours, so far as we are interested in it. Christian's family, possessions, etc., may be regarded as an expanded Sacrifices are made for children, friends, fatherland, not for the Shah of Persia or the building of an Indian temple. Protestant does not subscribe to Peter's Pence, nor the Catholic to the Evangelical Alliance. Even self-denying acts are self-interested. "Disinterested" motives are the reflection of another's good and joy in one's own soul.

Epictetus makes thought dependent upon will. And this is the principle of the Christian theory of knowledge. Conversion is brought about through the non-resistance of the will to divine influences. Epictetus himself speaks with fervour of a "change of the leading principle," a species of conversion. It is only through a consciousness of one's evil state, he says, that one can arrive at philosophy, and so be continually improved. But this conversion he thinks can be self-wrought by strenuous endeavour and exercise.

Here Christianity comes in with a new principle. We are saved by a Power out of ourselves. At the same time Epictetus does not fall into the error, common to heathen goodness, of self-contentment and self-satisfaction. He is humbly devoted to the ideal, and believes that the philosopher may gradually advance out of his frailty towards it. Now Scripture speaks of conversion and regeneration, but not of a gradual evolution from evil into good. Epictetus points to Socrates and others, Christianity to Christ alone. Human personality has no centre of gravity apart from faith in the crucified One.

Epictetus expresses deep sorrow at the contrast between the ideal and the actual. Passionately given up to the Ideal man, he consumes himself in unrest, fear, and sorrow, and exclaims upon the misery of seeking and not finding. "Show me a Stoic! By the gods, I long to see one. You cannot show me one who bears the true stamp." And thus the conscience of Epictetus is in sympathy with the hope of Israel fulfilled in Christ. And this is the more significant, because in the only passages where he mentions the Christians ("Galileans," Diss. 4. 7. 6) he expresses cold contempt of what he considers their pessimism. In truth, he stands nearer to the kingdom of God than he himself can admit. He belongs to those who, without knowing it, point the human soul to its true The yearnings expressed in the Mysteries of Eleusis lived in him: the mysts looked to Dionysus as their Saviour, and he to the "wise man." But the true Redeemer, the true Wise One, is Jesus Christ.

ASSYRIOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The later edition of Schrader's work, Die Keilinschriften u. das Alte Testament, brings to light the division of time into weeks, and the solemn observance of the seventh day among the Babylonian Assyrians. The description of Paradise in Gen. ii. 8 ff. is also further illustrated from Babylonian legends. He assumes a S. Babylonian origin of the legend of the Garden of Eden, and considers that the reference of the four rivers to the four arms of the Euphrates is not inadmissible; at the same time rejecting the attempt of Dr. Fried. Delitzsch exactly to fix its site. With reference to the Biblical account of the Deluge and the parallel legends of Izdubar, he also differs from Delitzsch and from Paul Haupt, who suppose both the "Jahvistic" and the "Elohistic" accounts of the flood to have originated in the time of exile under the influence of the Babylonian

legend. He points out that Noah appears both in Isaiah (liv. 9) and in Ezekiel (xiv. 14, 20) as a definite personality long known to the people of Israel. The mention also of Ararat instead of Nisir (in the Babylon tradition) points in his opinion to a pre-exilian origin in Palestine. The author maintains his views as to the synchronism of the history of the kings of Israel with the Assyrian and Babylonian history between Solomon and the Exile, but points out various discrepancies between the dates of the Bible and those of the inscriptions. Important coincidences occur especially in Hezekiali's and Manasseh's time. A brochure by Schrader on the Origin of the Old Babylonian Culture has been recently announced.

The Catholic theologian F. Kaulen, in a popular treatise on the same subject, decidedly rejects the hypothesis of the priority of the Babylonian myths over the Biblical tradition. At the same time he deprecates the use of Assyriological results for apologetic purposes: "Holy Scripture rests upon a better kingdom than that of Assyria and Babylon."

In a monograph on the Sabbath question, Dr. W. Lotz on the other hand infers from the fact that the institution was known only to the Hebrews and the Babylonians, that the former borrowed it from the latter as the older people of culture. Yet he admits the peculiar and independent importance of the institute in Israel. It was not (as Ewald represents it) a part of sacrifice, but rest from work. The Biblical account of the creation and the flood have also independent significance.

A more thorough and critical piece of work is Prof. R. Budde's examination of Gen. i.—xii. 5, which aims to combine the conservatism of Dillmann with the radical views of Wellhausen; both writers he esteems equally valuable and important. He deals with the material in the following order: the marriages of the sons of God; the tree of life; the Sethite genealogy; the Cainite genealogy; the Jahvistic Sethite table from the fragments extant; the fratricide of Cain, with Gen. ii. 4-vi. 4; the narrative of the flood; Noah and Canaan; Babel and Nimrod; the home and migration of Abraham.

The late F. Lenormant was a Catholic, a man of diffusive learning rather than a strong critic. In his Origins of History he brought Egyptian, Indian, Persian, and Greek parallels to bear upon the study of Gen. i.—xi. He conceded the post-Mosaic and gradual composition of the Pentateuch; but took up an apologetic position in reference to the traditions of Genesis, against the suspicion of a late origin and derivation from the Babylonians.

These are dangerous subjects for uncritical heads to meddle with;

and if the subject continues to fascinate the learned world, there is likely to spring up a crop of eccentric fancies such as those which have long flourished in the field of Greek mythology. As a specimen of such may be cited the notion of J. Pape, that the separation of Abel and Cain in respect of sacrifice means a great volcano which had closed Eden to mankind! And that Jabal was the arch-savage, and ancestor of the existing savage peoples.

CHRONOLOGY.

Dr. Kamphausen, in his treatise on the Chronology of the Hebreu Kings, would fix the epoch of the division of the kingdom after Solomon at 937 B.C. instead of 975, the traditional date. Most of the dates, however, he defends as substantially historical, against the arbitrary procedure of Wellhausen and others.

On the period from the Judges to Solomon, Kessler, in his monograph, takes the number 480 in 1 Kings vi. 1 to be strictly historical. Comparing this with the 534 years made out by adding up the years of the Judges, he would solve the difficulty by assuming that Eli was contemporaneous with Jair; Samuel with Jephthah, Ibzom, Elon and Addon. The oppressions mentioned in Judges x. 7 and xiii. 1 are identified. F. E. König, on the other hand, in Dr. Luthardt's Zeitschrift of last year, takes 480 as a round number. The numbers in Judges are mostly dealt with in the same way, also the 430 in Gen. xii. 40, with Gen. xv. 10-16; and thus the period is reduced to 400 years.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Literary communications to be sent to the Editor, The Vicarage, Dartmouth; and Books for review to Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, or to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., London.

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enclosed.

ST. PAUL AND ST. CLEMENT OF ROME TO THE CORINTHIANS.

"Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties."

Nearly forty years had passed away since this, the First Epistle of the "blessed Paul" to the Corinthians was written, and the words quoted above addressed by St. Clement to the same Church. The writer may have been the fellowworker² with the apostle at Philippi, whose name was in the Book of Life. But the identification, although sheltered by the name of Origen and others after him, of a Philippian (apparently) and a Roman, is on various grounds improbable, and has found little favour with modern critics.4 Whether a yoke-fellow of St. Paul's or not; whether second, or third, or fourth bishop; whether or not, either converted or ordained by St. Peter-and to some spiritual connection with that apostle the legend of the Clementine Recognitions seems to point; or by St. Paul, or by both apostles; 5 Clemens was bishop of the Roman Church when this weighty and powerful letter was written, and, according to the express statement of Irenæus,6 "had seen the blessed apostles, had conversed with them, and had their preaching still ringing in



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¹ Text used Funk, where sections are given, or Lightfoot. Translation Lightfoot's.

Phil. iv. 3. Euseb., Epiph., Jerome.

^{*}Bp. Lightfoot, Funk, etc., reject it; Bp. Wordsworth, Phil. (s. L), inclines to accept it.

⁸ Vid. Canon Scott Holland's Apostolic Fathers, p. 73; Evans' Biography of the Early Church, p. 16.

⁶ iii. c. 3. 3.

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his ears.1 and their tradition before his eyes." His Epistle was written either in 95, at the end of Domitian's reign, or in 96, at the beginning of Nerva's,2 when the persecutions had ceased. The time of its publication probably, then, almost coincided with the delivery of that wondrous apocalyptic peal of the son of thunder.8 For nearly thirty eventful years that "preaching and tradition" had been shaping his forms of thought and moulding his life. If the aged Irenæus so vividly and minutely remembered "the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord;"4 if the followers of a Francis of Assisi, or the pupils of an Arnold or Newman, reflect in after life and character some of the master-light of all their shining,-"vividly Pauline" doctrine is what we expect to find, and do find in Clement. And his warmth of feeling, deep moral tones, as clearly proclaim the fountain of his inspiration. Himself, it may be, the spiritual prisoner of the aged prisoner of Jesus Christ, he must have rejoiced and wept with his friends, and his friends' friends; and have shared with them the legacy of golden memories, and the responsibility of magnificent examples. Among such may well have been Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, "our messengers, faithful and prudent men that have walked among us from youth unto old age unblameably." 5 The streets of Rome, the synagogues of Rome, the Ghetto, the poor "purlieus of the Transtevere," "the gloomy haunts of the catacomb," the Prætorian camp, the Prætorian guards, the precincts of the imperial palace, the bridges of the beggar exiles, the basilica

¹ Trauler.

³ Accepting the later date of the Apocalypse.

⁵ Chaps. lxiii. and lxv.

² As Funk, p. xxiii.

⁴ Holland, p. 180.

of his trial, and the Tullianum, recalled from place to place, from time to time, the unforgotten presence of the "blessed" apostle. Some in the household of the Cæsars, many of the freedmen and dependents of Flavius Clemens, must have been exponents of the Pauline Gospel, and living epistles of their spiritual father. We can well imagine how, in the stormy ruin of the Neronian, and the fitful fury of Domitian's persecution, the name of the prince of apostolic sufferers and preachers must have rested on the lips and inspired the souls of those who added to the wealth of Roman glories the blood of martyrs and the patience and faith of the saints. What moving memories rose up like a cloud of witnesses from the road-like one, yet more sacred, "without the gate"-leading to the port of Ostia, whereon the wan and toil-worn form of the apostle was seen bound on his last best voyage. Neither were the events the eves of St. Clement had witnessed during his Roman life likely to dull the image of the great apostle to the Gentiles on his memory. For who had trodden so closely on the footprints of the Man of sorrows? Who as deeply had sounded all the depths and shoals of persecution, as potently had comforted his fellow-sufferers for all time? Clement had passed through much tribulation; he had learned many lessons of hope and fortitude. When he looked back he could recall the multitudo ingens, who had fallen into the ranks of the white-robed He and his contemporaries had seen the nine days' Reign of Fire; had seen or known the "fall by fire, within eight months of each other, of two national temples." 1 that of Jupiter Stator at Rome, that of the God of their fathers at Jerusalem; had seen the sacred furniture of the holy place, the seven-branched candlestick, the golden table. the trumpets which announced the year of jubilee, the Book of the Law, and the vessel of incense, borne in the triumphal procession before the Imperators, Vespasian and Titus, through

¹ Vid. Merivale, Romans under the Empire, vii. 252.

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the "shouting" Forum to the Capitol. The eye of faith had read there authentic tidings of expiring creeds. Nor were the—

"Templa Ædesque labentes deorum et Fæda nigro simulacra fumo" 1

silent witnesses to Christian ears of-

"Gods bereaved, gods belated,
With your purples rent asunder!
Gods discrowned and desecrated,
Disinherited of thunder." 2

With such a freight of joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, was the ship of the Church laden; and now that gifted Church, over which Clement ruled, had emerged from its double baptism of blood, uprising like snowy heights stained with sunset, crowned with many crowns, and bearing on its bosom the two illustrious apostolic names.

Whatever be the cause, the overmastering influence of St. Paul is patent on every page of the Epistle. It will be the purpose of this essay to trace out some of the indications of that influence. But our field of comparison will be limited to that Epistle which Clement invited the Corinthians to "take up," and its sequel. The ground of comparison will naturally be divided into the following sections:—1. Doctrinal; 2. Ethical; 3. Ecclesiastical; 4. Verbal and incidental; 5. Certain contrasts.

The occasion of St. Paul's first letter was the report of the state of the Corinthian Church brought to him at Ephesus by certain of the household of Chloe, and a simultaneous letter of inquiry as to some cases of conscience. The purport of his reply was threefold, viz. to correct the moral and ecclesiastical disorders, to solve spiritual difficulties, and to promote the collection of alms for the relief of the poor saints at Jerusalem. The occasion of St. Clement's letter is reported to us by Irenæus as follows:—"No small dissension having arisen

¹ Hor. Od. iii. 6.

² E. B. Browning.

among the brethren in Corinth, the Church in Rome sent a very able letter to the Corinthians, urging them to peace," etc.: 1 and the contents of the letter are sufficient indication. But there is no evidence that the interposition of the Roman bishop, or Church, as of the apostle, was invited. The action of the Church in Rome appears to have been taken upon its own sense of duty and co-responsibility. The object of the episcopal letter coincides with the first intended by the apostle. A determined attack is made upon "the detestable and unholy sedition, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons had kindled to such a pitch of madness that," etc.2 The inspired apostle and his pupil alike had in view the general well-being and concord of the faithful, and more particularly the peace and integration of the Corinthian Each letter was an eirenicon. Christians The jealous. sectarian, individualizing spirit which had split the Corinthians into Pauline, Petrine, Apolloite, and Christine parties equally threatened, under changed watchwords, the moral and devotional harmony, the catholicity of faith and worship, the very existence of the "Church of God which sojourned in Further details will appear later on.

Passing on to the consideration of any common basis in doctrine, we have no hesitation in deriving St. Clement's twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth chapters on the subject of the resurrection from St. Paul's great section. As part of the apostle's language is an expansion of our Lord's simile of the grain of wheat, so St. Clement—consciously or unconsciously—borrows from the apostle:—

"Let us understand how the Master continually showeth unto us the resurrection that shall be hereafter; whereof He made the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruit, when He raised Him from the dead. . . . Let us mark the fruits, how and in what manner the sowing taketh place. The sower goeth forth and casteth into the earth each of the seeds; and these

¹ iii. 3. 3.

² Chap. i.

falling into the earth dry and bare, decay; then out of their decay the mightiness of the Master's providence raiseth them up, and from being one they increase manifold and bear fruit."

Here the words ἀπαρχή and γυμνά, the analogy of the seed, are all derived from 1 Cor. xv.; "the Master's providence raiseth them up" is the characteristic Clementine translation of "God giveth it a body." And the practical hortatory conclusion of his doctrinal statement—"With this hope, therefore, let our souls be bound unto Him," etc.—is clearly an echo of the implied hope of 1 Cor. xv. 19, 58.

Further, St. Clement appears, like St. Paul, to be establishing the dogma in the face of rationalistic criticism. For, first, instead of presupposing the verity, after his usual manner, as he does, for example, that of the atonement and others, and making it the basis of practical exhortation, he employs his favourite method of proof. That method is the argument from the analogy of nature,—"day and night show unto us the resurrection," "the sower," "the phænix," etc.,—exactly as his appeal for peace and concord is grounded on the regularity and harmony of the forces and seasons of nature, in fact, on the uniformity of physical laws. And, secondly, there is a polemical ring about the question—

"Do we then think it to be a great and marvellous thing if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection?" etc.

It seems a reasonable inference, then, that these chapters are apologetic, and that unsound tenets upon this fundamental article of faith had not wholly vanished out of Corinthian speculation, or had revived. There are abundant traces of Pauline teaching, which might supply material for further consideration if our attention were not restricted to 1 and 2 Cor.

Proceeding from doctrinal to ethical ground, the writers

themselves first invite comparison. Without showing the sovereign tenderness, the sympathy, so quick, so sensitive and intense, the majestic sublimity, the moral depth, the impassioned fervour of the apostle,-without reaching the intellectual heights and breadths of the resurrection chapter, or the spiritual raptures and splendours of ecstasy and prophecy, or the far-stretching horizon of him who had the daily care of all the Churches,1—the sub-apostolic writer is, morally, something more than an echo, intellectually something more than a reflex energy. There is a high-souled dignity and impressiveness, a force of moral indignation, an "excellent oil" of righteous reproof, broken by tones of singular sweetness and delicacy, which reveal in the writer a spiritual light and power for which the potency of his name in early tradition and legend has not left us unprepared. In the beginning of the letter the key-note is struck with no uncertain sound, and as in a musical masterpiece, the theme reappears in manifold shades and disguises,—or, to use the language of the admirer of a cantata of Bach, "the canto fermo-that is, the melody of the chorale—is discernible, though delicately and skilfully varied, throughout the whole composition." The general severity, too, of tone is intercepted by mild and endearing interludes of "brethren" and "dearly beloved," etc., like sunny days in autumn. After the opening salutation, curtly and emphatically follows the stern rebuke which colours the whole remonstrance, softened at once by a generous recoil to the praises of their former loveliness before God and man.

"Who did not admire your sober and forbearing piety in Christ? Who did not publish your magnificent disposition of hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge?... And ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming

¹ The writer can never forget the deep tones of sympathy with which he heard Archbishop Tait read that passage.

² Ps. exli. 5.

submission, more glad to give than to receive, and content with the provisions which God supplieth. And giving heed unto His words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and His sufferings were before your eyes," etc.

In this passage, and in the beautiful chapter on 'Αγάπη, there is a moral warmth and a "tender grace," not un-Pauline in temper nor in diction. As a person's character is said to be discoverable even from his handwriting, and his disposition to be revealed in his mode of expressing thought, so the style of Clement is the man Clement, and that man is one

"Who nothing common did, nor mean, Upon the memorable scene."

St. Clement advances for his letter the guaranty of divine inspiration:—

"The things written by us through the Holy Spirit." But the words must not be pressed too far, and his own bearing sufficiently repudiates any claims to equality with his master. If an Ignatius shuddered at the thought, a Clement would not be less modest. The single chapter on the phœnix would be a complete answer to any pretensions to a Paul-like inspiration.

Again, there is a devotional under-current common to both writers flowing from the same spiritual springs. It overflows in the "hymn of thanksgiving for the success of Titus' mission" (2 Cor. ii. 14), in the closing salvo of the resurrection chapter, in the solemn doxology of 2 Cor. xi. 31, in the pious thankfulness of 1 Cor. i. 4, xiv. 18; 2 Cor. i. 3, 14, viii. 16. So the opening benediction of Clement is Pauline in spirit and language, the letter closes with a long liturgical intercession, and the stream of exhortation is repeatedly interrupted by Pauline doxologies (e.g. xx. 12, xxxii. 4, xxxviii. 4, xliii. 6, xlv. 7, l. 7, lviii. 2, lxi. 3, lxv. 2); and the final blessing—"the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in 'all places who have been called by God and through

Him "—reflects the imperial catholicity of the salutation of 1 Cor. i. 2.

"Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, . . . with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours."

But there is an inexpressible sympathy in the Pauline touch which is only distantly approached in the episcopal letter. The apostle identifies himself completely with his spiritual children. He loses himself in them. The two Corinthian Epistles are at least as full of this spirit as any of his; the second is the most personal of all. The lingering farewell which follows the final benediction (1 Cor. xvi. 24),

"My love be with you all in Christ Jesus, Amen," is as a kiss of peace.

There is a subdued echo of this temper in St. Clement's seventh chapter:

"These things, dearly beloved, we write, not only as admonishing you, but also as putting ourselves in remembrance. For we are in the same lists, and the same contest awaiteth us."

And in chaps. lxiii. fin., lxiv., lxv.

Possibly, too, the magnanimous plea for the self-banishment of the offenders against the Church's peace may be credited to the same mint (vid. chap. liv.), unless a Christian Lycurgus or Scipio Africanus have been present to the writer's mind.

Comparing next in order the moral pathology of the Corinthians of the middle and those of the last decade of the century, we are confronted by a melancholy instance of the continuity of moral evil. Corinth has become a darkening spot on the Christian horizon. In the dim light which surrounds the Church assemblies between St. Paul's second and St. Clement's letter, we pace

"For ever in a glimmering land,"

and must be content to gather vague fragments from the light of inference. The effect of the first Pauline Epistle was, we

learn from the second, prompt and salutary. Repentance was heart-whole; it was all but universal; it appears to have been lasting. The glowing testimony borne by St. Clement to their previous moral and spiritual wealth, appears to include the interval about which history is silent. But the tares had somehow been sown, and the old vices were rife. The besetting sins of a community, like those of an individual, are apt to be long lived. The demon of discord and division had again come to life. The "ruinous egoism," which had manifested itself in intellectual arrogance, in religious strife, and in social litigiousness, had reappeared under like forms.

Such were the moral blots censured in the apostle's first Epistle, and also irreverence and covetousness. In 2 Cor. he thanks God for their repentance, and labours to confirm it, reiterating his warnings against impurity (2 Cor. xii. 5, 6), boastfulness, heathen social influences, and backwardness in almsgiving, and aims a gentle parting blow at partizanship and division:

"Be of the same mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you."

The last words form a connecting moral link between St. Paul's last and St. Clement's first words. The following, amongst many similar passages, furnish sufficient evidence of the continuity of Corinthian factiousness:—

"Wherefore are there strifes, and wraths, and factions, and divisions, and war among you? Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace, that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ, and stir up factions against our own body, and reach such a pitch of folly as to forget that we are members one of another? . . . Your division hath perverted many, it hath brought many to despair, many to doubting, and all of us to sorrow. And your sedition still continueth."

1 Chap. xlvi.

We recognise in these words a deep sense of the solidarity of the Church, and the interdependence of her members in fellowship for good and evil, eloquent of Pauline teaching. A general spirit of disorder was disintegrating the Corinthian Church, and reached a climax in an insurrection against the presbyteral authority, indignantly reprobated in chap. xlvii.:—

"And this report hath reached not only us, but them also which differ from us, so that ye even heap blasphemies on the name of the Lord by reason of your folly."

The principal remedy suggested for their unhappy divisions is eminently Pauline in thought and expression, and echoes not unworthily the music of the "Psalm of Love":—

"Love hath no divisions, love maketh no seditions, love doeth all things in concord." 1

The impurity, the "Antinomian sensuality," which caused St. Paul so much distress and humiliation, has also reappeared. The allusions to uncleanness and the exhortations to purity are so frequent, that "the perceptible ring of forestalled grief in the three terrible words towards the close" of 2 Cor. xii. 21, seems to have been only too prophetic.

Thus Clement, chap. xxx.:-

"Seeing, then, that we are the special portion of a Holy God, let us do all things that pertain unto holiness, forsaking evil-speakings, abominable and impure embraces, drunkennesses, and tumults, and hateful lusts, abominable adultery, hateful pride:"... where the mention of drunkenness indicates another survivor among Corinthian works of the flesh. Chap. xxxviii. has another pointed reference to 1 Cor.: "He that is pure in the flesh, let him be so, and not boast, knowing that there is Another who bestoweth His continence upon him."

Compare chaps. xxi., xxix., xlviii. passim.

The characteristic "glorying," whether on the part of Jewish rabbi or Greek sophist, is still a Corinthian weakness. The words καυχᾶσθαι, καύχησις, καύχημα, occur more

1 Chap. xlix., vid. whole chap. 2 "Speaker," s.l.

often in 2 Cor., viz. twenty-seven times, than in all other Pauline Epistles put together (twenty-six times, nine times 1 Cor. only). This boastfulness was both religious and intellectual. It lay at the root of their love of party-cries and of their self-satisfied affectation of $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota_{S}$ and $\sigma\sigma\phi\iota_{A}$. The "conceit" of their letter of inquiry to the apostle is apparent from 1 Cor. viii. 1.2 St. Clement's innumerable recommendations of "lowliness" and allied virtues are specially pointed at this failing in its various moods and modes of operation;—e.g.:

Chap. xlviii. 5, "Let a man be faithful, let him be able to expound a deep saying $(\gamma\nu\hat{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu)$, let him be wise in discernment of words, . . . for so much the more ought he to be lowly in mind, in proportion as he seemeth to be the greater;" cf. 1 Cor. viii. 1, 10, 11, xiii. 2, 8; 2 Cor. i. 12, xi.

Clem. chap. xxxix., xl., "Senseless and stupid and foolish and ignorant men jeer and mock at us, desiring that they themselves should be exalted in their imaginations. . . . Forasmuch, then, as these things are manifest beforehand, and we have searched into the depths of the divine knowledge" (τὰ βάθη της θείας γνωσέως, cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10), "we ought to do all things in order;" cf. chap. i. 2. "Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge?" chap. xiii. "Let us therefore be lowly-minded, brethren, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and anger, and let us do that which is written. For the Holy Ghost saith, 'Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, neither the rich in his riches; but he that boasteth let him boast in the Lord," The text St. Clement applies correctively appears to be a confusion of St. Paul's double quotation (1 Cor. i. 31, καθώς γέγραπται; 2 Cor. x. 17, ο καυχώμενος, εν Κυρίω καυγάσθω), as Bishop Lightfoot suggests, with the original, Jer. ix. 23, 24, and 1 Sam. ii. 10, LXX. The stress upon lowliness and sub-

¹ Dr. Farrar counts twenty-nine times. -St. Paul, ii. p. 96.

² Farrar, St. Paul, ii. p. 49.

missiveness, as here (cf. xiii., xvi., xix., lv., lvi., lviii.) betrays a mixed Petrine and Pauline influence. But the grace of êmielkeia, which he earnestly desiderates for the Corinthian Church (vid. xiii. 1, xxx. 8, lvi. 1, lviii. 2, lxii. 2), is only twice alluded to in the New Testament, viz. Acts xxiv. 4 (Tertullus' speech), 2 Cor. x. 1: "Now I Paul myself entreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ." It is the latter pathetic appeal, so pertinent, so significant, which haunts the memory of Clement and underlies his unwearied repetitions.

The covetousness reprehended in 1 Cor. appears in 2 Cor. under the guise of sluggishness in almsgiving, and lurks probably under the inhospitality alleged in Clem. chap. xxxv. 5, and more than hinted at, chap. x. 7, xi. 1, xii. 1, and in chap. i. 2, where their "magnificent disposition of hospitality" is praised as a grace of the past.

Again, alike in the Pauline and in the Clementine Epistle, great stress is laid on repentance. A severely penitential aim pervades them both. Thus in chap. xviii. Clement quotes almost the whole of the most penitential psalm. Chap. vii. he connects the "grace of repentance" with the "blood of Christ:" and in his usual manner invokes Old Testament precedents, the preaching of Noah and Jonah (chap. vii:), the destruction of Pharaoh (chap. li.), the intercession of Moses (chap, lii.). As to the universal extent and character of their repentance quite an undesigned coincidence occurs between 2 Cor. and Clem. After speaking of their godly sorrow (2 Cor. vii. 11), St. Paul adds (ver. 13), "Therefore we have been comforted; and in our comfort we joyed the more exceedingly for the joy of Titus, because his spirit hath been refreshed by you all." The expression is not to be taken arithmetically, any more than the ideal picture of their past St. Clement sketches in contrast with their present, chaps. ii. and iii., "Ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance. . . . Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, and an insatiable desire of doing good.

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An abundant outpouring also of the Holy Spirit fell upon all. . . . Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you. . . . Ye were ready unto every good work. All glory and enlargement was given unto you."

A word is due to the comparative moral effects of the apostolic and episcopal letters. The happy results of the former have been already indicated. Nor does the latter appear to have been unfavourably received. The evidence may be seen in Bishop Lightfoot's Introduction, p. 5. The mere fact that it was read in church on the Lord's day in the middle of the second century, is one out of several proofs of its estimation in Christian Corinth.

The continuity of the doctrinal and moral errors which has been noticed may be traced further in the sphere of worship and church life. The 11th and 12th chapters of 1 Cor. deal with the disorganization of worship, in respect of the overprominence of women, of the disorder at the Agapæ, and the profanation of the Eucharist, and of the abuse of the charis-The disorders rebuked by St. Clement had also taken place in the solemn service of the Communion, and possibly had begun there. In chaps. xl.-xliv. St. Clement lays down the principle of an apostolic ministry charged with special functions as to the Eucharistic offerings and ministrations (745 τε προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας), and as to the proclamation of the glad tidings (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι); in other words, in regard to the "administration of the Word and the Sacraments." He insists on the necessity for due order and reverence in worship, and the distinction between the "bishops" and deacons and the laity.

"For unto the high priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances. Let each of you, brethren, in his order (τάγματι) give thanks (εὐχαριστείτω), maintaining a good conscience, and not transgressing

the appointed rule of his service ($\tau \hat{\eta}_{S}$ $\lambda \epsilon \iota \tau o \nu \rho \gamma (a_{S} a \hat{\nu} \tau o \hat{\nu} a)$, but acting with all seemliness."

From one or two incidental hints, the women appear to have fully shared the factious spirit of the men; probably the silence enjoined upon them (chap. xxi.) alluded to interference in church government or worship. If so, St. Paul's rebuke 1 Cor. xiv. 35, was not yet out of date.

Clem. xxi., "Let us guide our women toward that which is good; let them show forth their lovely disposition of purity; let them prove their sincere affection of gentleness; let them make manifest the moderation of their tongue through their silence; let them show their love, not in factious preferences, but without partiality towards all them that fear God, in holiness."

Contrast this with the commendation of the past (chap. i.): "Ye taught them to keep in the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household in seemliness," etc.

Scenes of confusion and irreverence had clearly been renewed in the Church assemblies. Some have supposed that there was a vacancy in the episcopal office, and that an uprising against the presbyters was one of the consequences. But we have no key to the exact nature of the dispute. The unconditional surrender of the malcontents is the only issue which St. Clement contemplates as possible, if they would not "be cast out from the hope of Him:" "Ye therefore that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart," etc. (chap. lvii.).

Some minor points of coincidence in thought and language deserve attention, as illustrating incidentally the conscious or unconscious debt of the bishop to the apostle, derived in many instances from Bishop Lightfoot's valuable notes. Previous quotations have been omitted.

Salutation, κλητοῖς, ἡγιασμένοις, borrowed from the salutation in 1 Cor. i. 1, 2.

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- i. 3, κανόνι, cf. 2 Cor. x. 13, 15, 16; Gal. vi. 16.
- ii. 1, παθήματα, cf. 2 Cor. i. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 13, v. 1.
- ii. 5, εἰλικρινεῖς, εἰλικρίνεια, occurs three times in the New Testament, and only in 1 and 2 Cor.
- ii. 7, ἀμεταμέλητοι, twice in New Testament, 2 Cor. vii. 10; Rom. xi. 29.
- ii. 8, ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη, from LXX. of Prov. vii. 3, which passage is the source of St. Paul's metaphor, 2 Cor. iii. 3.
- iii. 2, ἀκαταστασία, again xiv. 1, xliii. 6; combined as here with ἔρις and ζηλος, 2 Cor. xii. 20; ζηλος and ἔρις combined alone, vi. 4. ἀκαταστασία occurs five times in the New Testament, three times in 1 and 2 Cor.
- v. The combination of the two "most righteous pillars," Peter and Paul, would be a "powerful appeal" to those who had once made their names rival watchwords, 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22.
- v. 5, βραβείον. St. Paul's own word, and favourite metaphor from the games, so peculiarly significant to the habitués of the Isthmian contests.
- v. 6, ἔπτακις δεσμὰ φορέσας, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 23, "in prisons more abundantly." λιθασθείς, 2 Cor. xi. 25, once was I stoned.
 - vi. 2, vii. 1, more metaphors from the games.
- viii., γνώμη = "judgment," "sentence;" for this sense, cf. 1 Cor. vii. 25, 40.
- xxx. 6, "Let our praise be with God, and not of ourselves: for God hateth them that praise themselves," cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5; 2 Cor. x. 18; and Rom. ii. 29.
- xxx. 1 and 2, καταλαλιάς, New Testament only, 2 Cor. xii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 1.
- xxx. 2, ψιθυρισμοῦ, only 2 Cor. xii. 20, with καταλαλιαί as here.
- xxxii. 4, σοφίας ἡ συνέσεως—coupled 1 Cor. i. 19 (from Isa. xxix. 14); Col. i. 9.
 - xxxiv. 8, "For He saith, Eye hath not seen and ear hath

not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man what great things He hath prepared for them that patiently await Him." St. Clement's words appear to be a mixture of St. Paul's (1 Cor. ii. 9) and the Pauline original in the LXX., Isa. lxiv. 4. Others suppose an apocryphal or a liturgical original.

xxxiv. 2, "Of Him are all things;" cf. 1 Cor. viii. 6; Rom. xi. 36.

xxxvi. 2, ἐνοπτριζόμεθα; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 18, τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι.

xxxvii. The analogy of the human body is traceable to 1 Cor. xii. 12--31, especially ver. 22; cf Rom. xii. 4.

xxxvii. 3, "Each man in his own rank" (τάγματι), from 1 Cor. xv. 23; so Clem. xli. 1 again.

xxxviii. 1, "As also he was appointed with his special grace," χαρίσματι; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 7, xii., also 1 Pet. iv. 10; Rom. xii. 6.

xxxviii. 2, "Through whom his wants may be supplied," from 1 Cor. xvi. 17; Phil. ii. 30.

Ibid. "Let the wise display his wisdom;" cf. 1 Cor. i. 19, 20, etc.

xlvi. 6, "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ?" A reminiscence of Eph. iv. 4 sq.; 1 Cor. viii. 6, xii. 12 sq.

xlvii. 3, πνευματικώς ἐπέστειλεν, of St. Paul himself—πνευματικώς, New Testament only, 1 Cor. ii. 14; Rev. xi. 8.

xlviii. 5, Quoted before. The same three gifts of πίστις, γνῶσις, σοφία, are enumerated, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, "though in the reverse order" (Lightfoot).

xlviii. 6, "And he ought to seek the common advantage of all, and not his own." The sentiment and language are both Pauline; cf. 1 Cor. x. 24, 33, xiii. 5.

1v. 2, ἐψώμισαν, from 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

lxiii. 3, "Occupying the place of obedience;" cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον.

lxv. The despatch of "our messengers, Claudius, Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, . . . to the end that they may the more quickly report the peace and concord which is prayed for and earnestly desired by us," may remind them of the mission of a Timothy, as the words "send ye back in peace" (ἀναπέμ-ψατε) re-echo St. Paul's προπέμψατε αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνη, 1 Cor. xvi. 11, or of a Titus, and its happy results. The "Fortunatus also" who accompanies them is by the σύν καί distinguished from them, and may have been not only a Corinthian, but the same Fortunatus mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. 17. Were this identification certain, a personal link of singular interest would be established between the earlier and later documents.

In his use of the Old Testament, there are a few passages to which St. Paul's previous direct or indirect reference in 1 Cor. may have assisted St. Clement. 1 Sam. ii. 10, Isa. lxiv. 4, Jer. ix. 24, have been already alluded to.

We may add—Gen. i. 26; Clem. xxxiii. 5; 1 Cor. xi. 7.

Ex. xxxii.; Clem. liii. 2; 1 Cor. x. 7.

Ps. xxiv. 1; Clem. liv. 3; 1 Cor. x. 26.

Ps. cix. 1; Clem. xxxvi. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 25.

These seem to be the only Old Testament references which have come through the medium of 1 and 2 Cor.

It would leave a false impression to insist on all points of coincidence without noticing some of the contrasts between the apostolic and episcopal writers. Careful and repeated reading of the several Epistles immediately suggests one marked difference. We feel in a different atmosphere, we pass from language intensely human, yet more than human, to thought and diction never higher than human. In the former we feel the Pentecostal breath, and see the tongue of flame; in the latter we do not rise above the level of spiritually-minded common sense. With the apostle we are borne on the wings

of the morning, and carried to the uttermost parts of heaven and earth. There is

"A passion and outpouring," "an awful sign and tender," 1

there is a freedom of movement, an irresistible overflow of The "exquisite phrase of St. Augustine," "dilige et quid vis fac," is here fulfilled. While in the bishop there is a certain element of stiffness and formality, a magisterial temper characteristic of one who looked upon God chiefly in the aspect of ὁ δεσπότης, a suspicion of Roman imperiousness learned perhaps in the household of his consular namesake, St. Clement unites all a Hebrew's horror of irreverence with a Roman's scorn for lawless disorder and irregularity. is the greatness of an organizing unifying mind. St. Paul is a many-sided Christian Odysseus, a spiritual Crichton. Clement is not a thinker, not a man of originative mind, not of the stuff of his Alexandrian namesake. His type of character is Petrine rather than Pauline. He is a man of action, an ecclesiastical administrator. More original than the venerated Polycarp, he does not rise to the vivid individuality of Ignatius. St. Clement's mind is much coloured with Roman associations. This explains his partiality for military metaphors. His arguments, too, are marshalled like an array of Roman battalions. We seem to hear the stately regulated tread of a legion. He is never carried away, and he never carries away. He is never beside himself, and he never transports. But in the apostle feeling is too intense for interpretation, and the trammels of argumentative sequence and grammatical rule are thrown impetuously aside. We are above and beyond law, in the region of the miraculous, and of the suprasensible demonstration of the Spirit. Yet the royal Spirit sweetly orders into sevenfold harmonies all the complex currents of thought and emotion. Briefly, in the apostle's company we are εν πνεύματι. Without pausing , ¹ Jean Ingelow.

to analyse the word, the apostle is inspired in the full sense, the bishop is not.

Further points of difference appear in their use of the Old Testament. Upon the Old Testament in the LXX, version Clement leans heavily for authority and for illustration. There is hardly a chapter which does not lay it under There are about one hundred and forty contribution. passages in Funk's index directly or indirectly traceable to the canonical books of the Old Testament, i.e. about twice as many as in 1 and 2 Corinthians put together, which are together about the same length as Clement, and the quotations in Clement are at very much greater length. bishop delights in references to the Old Testament worthies. In one short chapter (xvii.), Job, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel are cited as models. Clement owns also much heavier obligations to apocryphal writings. See viii, 3, xvii. 6, xxiii. 3, xlvi. 2. St. Paul shows in 1 Cor. vi. 2, 2 Cor. v. 4, as elsewhere, acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom; while there are traces of it also in Clem. lx. 1, lxi. 1, xxvii. 5, and possibly of Sirach, lix. 3, lx. 1, lxiii. 1.

The classical culture of both writers has been pronounced superficial by modern critics, with greater reason in the apostle's case. In 1 Cor. xv. 33, the Thais of Menander, or Euripides, is quoted. The fable of Menenius Agrippa supplies an illustration rather than a source to 1 Cor. xii. 14 f. But the indications of classical education are far more copious in the Roman freedman. Thus in chapters xx., xxv. (unless the legend of the phænix was derived from rabbinical sources), xxxvii., xxxviii., lv. In the last-mentioned chapter, the following words would have awakened an intelligent response from so largely Gentile a Church: "To bring forward examples of Gentiles also, many kings and rulers, when some season of pestilence pressed upon them, being taught by oracles, have delivered themselves over to death, that they might rescue their fellow-citizens through their own blood. Many have

retired from their own cities that they might have no more seditions." In one respect the later writer shows a singularly modern spirit. He invokes more freely the assistance of natural religion. The reign of law in Nature has not escaped his observation, and furnishes him with a powerful and eloquent analogy. The "heavens," "day and night," "the sun and the moon, and the dancing stars," the seasons of "the earth," "the ocean," "the winds," "the everflowing fountains," "vea. the smallest of living things," as he concludes, "come together in concord and peace. All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in His compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and the majesty for ever and ever."

This noble passage is the most original in the letter, and was largely quoted by succeeding writers. St. Paul's appeals both to natural religion and to natural science are scanty. His guarantee is personal experience, his vindication direct intercourse with the Lord Jesus Christ. Though the seed of the earth, and the flesh of the animal, and the stars of heaven may be summoned to give witness at one time, and the Giver of rain and fruitful seasons at another, the moral science of the Cross is his great weapon of attack and defence.

As we take leave of them both we feel the immeasurable superiority of the one personality over the other. Both are stars, but they differ in glory. We miss most of all in the latter the pastoral tenderness of the under shepherd calling his sheep, his Master's and his own, by name. Paul knows them individually; they are his spiritual children; they are his "living epistle;" in Eastern figure, "the breath of his nostrils." No tie of parental affection could, from the absence of such connection, exist between Clement and the Corinthians. Again, St. Paul is not the father, the shepherd only, he is the apostle, the accredited ambassador and plenipotentiary of the divine apostle sent forth from the Father. He had seen the Lord. What a world of meaning lay hid in those words! There was not, there could not be, a like authoritativeness in the pastoral letter of one bishop to another Church. Written anonymously, the bishop's letter expresses the sentiments of his Church, not of its bishop only.

Neither that Church, still less that bishop, require obedience to themselves, "but to the things written by us through the Holy Spirit," 1 " to the end that they may yield not unto us, but unto the will of God."2 The reticence of these remonstrances at once opens a wide gulf between the pretensions of the first Clement and his successors in name and in office, between the Church which wrote in the spirit of a sister and one which advances claims much more than paternal. And the bishop who completely sinks himself in his Church, so that without external evidence the author's name would have been unknown, furnishes an example, not unneeded in these days, to all who bear the high burden of the overseer. The voice of the Church was a harmony of various parts. The voice of the Church was the voice of the bishop, not the voice of the bishop the voice of the Church. If the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of political power are the questions of the day, has not the political parable a spiritual application? If a House of Lords is threatened with extinction, or with reform in directions of a more representative character, may not lords spiritual be invited to read the signs of the times? If Corinth be a "lost Pleiad" in the history of the Church, its light may have travelled elsewhere. to be feared that the "lumen totius Græciæ," like so many illustrious Churches of apostolic foundation, is left as a beacon upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on an hill.

J. F. VALLINGS.

¹ Chap. lxiii.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN SYSTEMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I.—Cosmic Religion.

THE modern rationalistic spirit has affected in some degree the religious doctrines and the religious life of all the cultivated nations. The deism of the last century, which called forth so much apologetic literature, was only a stage upon the downward course, which reached its lowest depth in the materialistic atheism of France and Germany. But since religion is a necessity of human nature, destructiveness can yield no satisfaction; sooner or later the constructive energy of man's mind endeavours to rebuild the edifice which doubt has ruined. Hence the many attempts to harmonize the universal need of religion with the rejection of supernaturalism required by the rationalistic spirit. Amongst these attempts is Cosmism.

1. The Origin of Cosmic Religion.

During the last hundred years nature has been more studied, and has been admired with more enthusiasm, than at any former period of human history. Whether nature be a collective name for the phenomena which appeal to the senses, or a convenient designation of the system of physical laws according to which these phenomena are regulated, or a kind of proper name personifying the Intelligent Power,—conscious and voluntary or unconscious and involuntary,—that actuates and explains all external changes and processes: in any case nature has for us an interest and charm rarely and feebly felt in earlier times.

This is apparent in the direction and tone of modern art. Painters have become the devotees of nature; and if the historical and sacred schools of painting of bygone centuries still retain their pre-eminence, it is certain that in landscape the modern painters have all but eclipsed their predecessors, so sedulously have they studied the homely, the picturesque, the sublime aspects of nature.

The great poets of nature who lived and wrote at the commencement of this century,—Goethe, Schiller, and Wordsworth,—doubtless gave an expression, a voice, to the Zeitgeist, the spirit of the time. To them nature was a religion; their admiration and reverence were drawn out by the harmony and beauty of the sights and sounds of the universe. Goethe has sometimes been described as a modern Pagan; but Wordsworth was unquestionably a Christian. Yet both sought and found in nature and in human nature satisfaction for the deep yearnings of their souls. Their writings, doubtless, have given an impulse to the nature-worship which may have been sometimes an auxiliary, but has also been sometimes a substitute for religion, as religion has been generally understood.

Theologians as well as poets have felt the influence of this tendency. Schleiermacher was not indeed a Pantheist, but his doctrine that God and the world are two values for the same thing, differing as unity differs from plurality, perilously approached Pantheism. And a school of Christian Pantheists has arisen in Germany, and also in England and America, who seek to combine spiritual religion with the negation of a personal God.

The scientific movement, however, must be regarded as the chief source of the Cosmic theology and cultus.

Our century has been pre-eminently distinguished by the advance which has been made, in the civilised communities of Europe and North America, in physical science and in mechanical art. The proof of this lies open and plain before

the eyes of all observant, reading, thinking men. Literature bears witness to the extent and to the intensity of the interest felt in the physical sciences: books, periodicals, libraries, and lectures are occupied with these subjects in a degree beyond all previous experience; ancient Universities have been compelled to enlarge their borders, to tolerate and even to welcome such rivals of classical and mathematical learning as physics, chemistry, geology, and physiology; and scientific societies have sprung up to encourage the pursuit of those sudies which concern themselves with the mysterious and fascinating records and processes of natural law. As for the visible and tangible works in which knowledge of matter has embodied itself, and which would have been impossible in earlier ages, they confront us wherever we turn, and proclaim the subjection of nature to the ambition and the enterprise of intellect.

Could one of the great discoverers or the great theorizers of a former age—a Pascal or a Newton, nay even a Priestley or a Laplace—revisit this earth, and make himself acquainted with the present state of molar and molecular physics, with the revelations of the spectroscope, with the achievements of electricians, how would the progress of science fill him with amazement! And that amazement would be increased could the visitor from a buried generation survey the splendid monuments of genius and of skill which cover civilised lands, and the convenience and use of which have become the commonplace of our modern life.

It is not surprising that the change, the unquestionable and marvellous progress referred to, has exercised a signal influence upon the philosophy and the religion of our century. The human mind is but one, many and varied as are its developments and manifestations; and one province of intellectual life is in constant diplomatic relations, so to speak, with another. It is not maintained that no other, no earlier causes have been at work to produce the effect, nor is it maintained that all influence is of the nature of causation, and

none of the nature of rebound and reaction. But the progress of physical science, the application of such science to practical and material ends, and the enlarged interest in the fine arts which, as a matter of course, follows the accumulation of wealth and the increase of leisure,—all have combined to impart new characteristics to the habits of thinking, and to the tone of belief, upon matters of higher interest and import.

In one word, attention has been and is concentrated upon all that appeals to sense. Study and discovery have been busy in finding answers to the questions, What can be seen, heard, felt? What are the properties of matter, and the forces by which matter is governed, and the forms which matter takes? What pleasures can material objects and impressions be constrained to yield? How can the physical life of man be protected and prolonged? How can his sensitive nature be enriched and gratified?

A generation which devotes its energies to answering such questions as these, and to answering them in as practical and as generally appreciable form as possible, is a generation which can scarcely avoid a bent towards secularism. And secularism cannot fail to come into conflict with principles and convictions which for centuries have held sway over the minds of the more educated and thoughtful. demands that more attention shall be given to man's animal nature, to his material welfare, to health and bodily grati-Secularism asks that art may seek to promote enjoyment rather than to aid religion. Secularism asks that the history of nations may be disparaged, and that the history of material changes may take its place. Secularism has no time or energies to spare for philosophy; all are required for exact and positive science. Secularism questions the utility of religion, contemns the religions of the past, and professes to substitute for the supernatural what is purely natural, and for Christianity as the revelation of God's character and purposes a creed and a cultus known as Cosmic religion.

Not that there are wanting men who would prefer to ignore a religious faculty and to reject without examination all religions which claim to reveal the relations between man as a spiritual nature and the Supreme and Eternal Being. But the reasonable and instructed on many accounts desire to retain religion as an element of human life. They see that to reject religion would be to outrage human nature, to break with human history, to endanger the cause of morality and of order, to strip life of disinterestedness and of dignity. This is a catastrophe to be avoided, or at least postponed. Only, if a religion there must be, it must be one which will harmonize with their mental habits, prepossessions, and tendencies; one which will at no point come into conflict with their conceptions of natural law, one which shall be credible to the most rigid of "positivists" and "secularists." There must be no personal God, not only because such a Deity would be repugnant to the metaphysics of the school, but also because it is supposed that His action would be incompatible with the iron sway of law. Miracles, of course, cannot be tolerated; and prayer, equally of course, is out of the question. Supreme Power must be without moral attributes, must be a stranger to the human weaknesses of pity and sympathy, of long-suffering and loving-kindness.

We trace then the emergence of Cosmic religion mainly to the prevalence of the rationalistic spirit, combined with the extraordinary measure of attention, interest, and study during the present century directed to natural phenomena and laws. The Universe is so majestically grand, and at the same time so exquisitely beautiful,—is the scene of the operation of laws so perfect and so wonderful,—that it cannot be deemed strange if minds averse from spiritual realities, seek to find in it, in its order, regularity, vastness, and beauty, an object of admiration so intense as to be mistaken for genuine worship.

2. The Tenets of Cosmic Religion.

No one can read our current literature, or converse with scientific men, without coming to the conclusion that there is a very widespread belief that Cosmism is a very good substitute for Christianity. If the resurrection of Christ from the dead is incredible, then the superstructure of Christian faith and practice perishes with the foundation. And many are able to regard this calamity with indifference and even with complacency, because of their peruasion that the undoubted facts of the Universe afford a sufficient basis for a religious experience and a religious life. But as general and popular impressions are vague, it may be well to refer to some acknowledged literary authorities.

Strauss, in The Old Faith and the New, maintains that, although the educated classes can no longer call themselves Christians, they yet possess a religion. He not only rejects Christianity, he rejects the belief in a personal God, which he regards as "but a reflection of the wondering spectator himself."

"Religion," he says, "is no longer with us what it was with our fathers; but it does not follow that it is extinct in us. At all events, we have retained the essential ingredient of all religion—the sentiment of unconditional dependence. Whether we say God or Cosmos, we feel our relation to one, as to the other, to be one of absolute dependence" (p. 161).

He attributes to the Universe some of the attributes which are usually conceived as belonging to the personal God:

"We are compelled to conceive of the Cosmos as being the primary source of all that is reasonable and good" (p. 163).

Accordingly the Universe may be regarded with some of those reverential and confiding emotions which have generally been cherished towards the living God. That on which we depend is "Both order and law, reason and goodness, to which we surrender ourselves in living trust." "Pride and humility, joy and submission, intermingle in our feeling for the Cosmos" (p. 164).

Strauss candidly admits that such worship as is customary among Christians, who ask and expect to receive something from God, is hardly allowable on the part of those for whom the Universe is the supreme power. Yet, with something of inconsistency, he demands "the same piety for our Cosmos, that the devout of old demanded for his God" (p. 168). He is not without an understanding of the losses which the world must sustain in abandoning Christianity, but conceives that the interests of science, of truth, require that these losses should be accepted.

"In mitigation of the pain which the consciousness of these stains, which the qualms of conscience prepare for us, Christianity offers the atonement; it opens the sheltering arms of a belief in providence to the timorous feeling of abandonment to the rude chances of this world; while at the same time illuminating the dimness of this terrestrial night by the prospect of an immortal life in heaven. have seen that the sum-total of these consolations must irretrievably vanish on our standpoint . . . What have we on our side to offer instead?" (p. 434). His answer is substantially that we have, instead of the revelations and promises of Christianity, the conviction of the inviolability of physical laws, faith in the progress and destinies of mankind, the cherished and venerated memory of the dead, benevolent effort for fellow-men, and the enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and in art!

Strauss wrote as a critic in sympathy with the destructive school of German criticism. Let us turn now to the theories of an American man of science, a disciple of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and a thinker of some speculative grasp.

According to Mr. Fiske, the author of Cosmic Philosophy,

there is a Cosmic God, and a Cosmic religion. The word Cosmos "denotes the entire phenomenal universe; it connotes the orderly uniformity of nature, and the negation of miracle or extraneous disturbance of any kind." But former philosophies are held to have erred in complicating the conception of the Cosmos with that of anthropomorphic agencies that are extra-Cosmic. True Cosmism does not attempt to eliminate these agencies, but integrates them into "a single agency, from which the anthropomorphic attributes are stripped, and which is regarded as revealed in and through the Cosmos." 1

It must then clearly be understood that Cosmism claims to be religious. "Cosmism assigns to religion the same place which it has always occupied, and affirms that the religious sentiment must find satisfaction, in the future as in the past, in the recognition of a Power which is beyond humanity, and upon which humanity depends. The existence of God—denied by atheism, and ignored by positivism—is the fundamental postulate upon which Cosmism bases its synthesis of scientific truths. The infinite and absolute Power . . . is the Power which Cosmism refrains from defining and limiting by metaphysical formulas." ²

The religious side of Cosmism is more fully exhibited in the recent work of a distinguished English historian and moral philosopher. The author of Natural Religion accepts, either actually or hypothetically, the position of Strauss, and aims at showing that if we give up Christianity,—theism,—the supernatural, we still have the substance, the core of religion. He presumes that science requires us to renounce (1) the miraculous, (2) the benevolence of the Creator, nay (3) the very existence of a personal Will as the cause of the Universe. Some have deemed this writer as treating the whole question with irony, but there seems no justification for this supposition. He tells us that, even upon the sceptic's hypothesis, we still have a theology, and are theists:

¹ Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, vol. i. p. 182. 2 Ibid. p. 184.

"I say that man believes in a God who feels himself in the presence of a Power which is not himself and is immeasurably above himself, a Power in the contemplation of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness" (p. 19). Nay, it is affirmed that the man of science has a better God in mechanical and unconscious nature than the Christian has in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ:

"The average scientific man worships just at present a more awful and as it were a greater Deity than the average Christian."

It is evident that this doctrine lands us in the conclusion that amongst educated men there are no atheists; such are to be found only in the ranks of the untaught, ignorant, and superstitious.

"Atheism is a disbelief in the existence of God, that is, a disbelief in any regularity in the universe to which a man must conform himself under penalties" (p. 27).

The essence of religion, as conceived by the Cosmic devotees, is admiration. The vast, the regular, the harmonious, the beautiful,—these are the proper objects of worship. These, we are assured, are a sufficient substitute for the moral attributes which we have been accustomed to adore as possessed in their perfection by the Supreme Father.

Science "sees mechanism where will, purpose, and love had been supposed before. She drops the name God, and takes up the less awful name of Nature instead" (p. 50).

In one respect the author of Natural Religion is in advance of some other advocates of Cosmic worship. He comprehends humanity in nature; his view of nature being that which is opposed to what is above nature, not as opposed to man. We are not, therefore, invited to worship merely the laws of gravitation, chemical combination, etc.; but whatever is best in humanity, and especially those qualities of compassion and forgiveness which are scarcely discoverable in molar or even

in molecular movements. This is made plain by the following passage:—

"Nature, in the sense in which we are now using the word, includes humanity, and therefore, so far from being pitiless, includes all the pity that belongs to the whole human family, and all the pity that they have accumulated, and, as it were, capitalized in institutions, political, social, and ecclesiastical, through countless generations." "Nature, including Humanity, would be our God" (pp. 68, 69).

The author proceeds to show that culture takes the place of Christianity in the individual life, and civilisation in the life of society. Goethe's remark is quoted with approval, "Who has science and art, has religion." The worship of the Unity in the Universe is deemed practically the same as the worship of a personal God, and is held to be as strengthening as that is to true morality.

From an examination of eminent authorities, it appears that in their view religion is independent not only of Christianity, but of all that is supernatural. Given the phenomena of the Universe, and the laws discernible in them by scientific observation,—given the beauty and symmetry of nature in itself and as reflected in human art,—given the facts and feelings of human nature and history; and we have a body of truth which is a sufficient theology, a sphere for worship, and an inspiration for the moral life. And we are asked: If we have these, have we not religion?

3. The Defects and Dangers of Cosmic Religion.

The advocates of the system under consideration seem to us to be "right in what they affirm, wrong in what they deny." With all that is said in eulogy of science and of art, in admiring acknowledgment of the grandeur, the order, the beauty, of the material Universe, we cordially concur. All this is our possession as well as theirs. But we claim that

we retain what they renounce, and that this is of even higher value.

We are told that "we live by admiration," i.e. that the best exercise of our spiritual nature depends upon its conscious and sympathetic relation with what is higher and better than This we grant. But the question is: ordinary experience. What shall we admire? The Cosmists tell us that we are to admire material vastness, regularity, adaptation. Well and good; we do admire these. But is there nothing higher, nothing better than these qualities of matter and of motion? We claim that the mental and moral attributes which these qualities suggest, but which are far more powerfully suggested by the aspirations and experiences of the human heart, are the attributes of a Being who can call forth the highest and noblest emotions of our nature. In a word, a personal God is worthy of admiration, in a sense in which the workmanship of His hands can never be so worthy. Cosmism is refined idolatry; it worships the creature and not the Creator. admire nature as the manifestation and expression of the Divine character and purposes. But we adore the Author and the Ruler of nature, whose works we admire. gives us the husk of worship, but denies us the kernel.

When immensity, order, and harmony are regarded simply in themselves, and not as the expression and evidence of a Mind which reveals itself as transcending any human intelligence, these qualities seem to us to be emptied of more than half their significance. To take this view is to lay ourselves open to a charge of anthropomorphism; but this is a charge which has no terrors for us. Indeed, we retort the charge; for those who discern order and symmetry and law in nature are by that very fact convicted of anthropomorphism. Take away Mind, and where is the content of these ideas? And on what ground can we be precluded from recognising intention and moral attributes in the Power, the Principle, which is admitted to preside over the Universe? If gravitation tells

us something of that Power, and something that demands our admiration, shall not love and pity, purity and self-sacrifice, tell us something too? and is not this communication more pertinent and more precious to us, as religious, worshipping beings, even than the former? God is not a mere mechanic, a mere artist; He is a King, a Father. Cosmism can neither satisfy the heart, nor rule the life of man, until this is frankly admitted; and such admission translates Cosmism into Christianity.

Upon considering the cool and formulated proposal that we shall abandon belief in and worship of a personal Deity, exercising moral attributes, and be satisfied to admire the variety and regularity with which the movements of matter take place on the greatest and the smallest scale,—our first impulse is one of surprise and indignation. Is it possible that we should go back a few thousand years in our civilisation, and fall back upon the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and of deified heroes?

But the matter should perhaps be looked at in a different light. It is hardly likely that sincere worshippers of an Almighty God, whose attributes are righteousness and wisdom and love, will abandon their cultus for that of the Cosmic religionists. But it is very likely that many men of science, so absorbed in the study of material phenomena and laws as to have lost all faith in the spiritual realities of which the physical Universe is but the vesture and the symbol, will awake to find that they have chased the shadow until they have lost sight of the substance. It is very likely that they will ask themselves of what purposes, convictions, and emotions the outward life of humanity is the expression; and that the question will suggest itself, Is there in the Universe something more than an appeal to sense? Is there any indication of thought, of intention, perhaps even of feeling? Is teleology a dream? Is there what is more admirable than even matter and material law?

Thus the stage of religious experience we are considering may be an upward and not a downward stage. After all, Cosmic religion is better than Cosmic irreligion and irreligious-It is a proof that "man cannot live by bread alone." that the soul pants and yearns for spiritual apprehensions, relationships, revelations. The ascent, once commenced, may When the marvels of mathematics and of be continued. physics, of electricity and of biology, cease to be marvels. what will be left to satisfy the innate hunger for something to admire? There are already indications that human nature is recognised by men of science as possessing nobler elements than any which can be brought to light by telescope or microscope or spectroscope. Admiration is not exhausted by the contemplation of unconscious and un-moral phenomena. Duty, virtue, heroism, self-sacrifice, are as deserving admiration as the revolutions of binary stars or the floral crystals of freezing water. Men of science do not cease, in becoming scientists, to be men. They do not lose their sensibility to the higher attractions, the loftier motives, the nobler purposes which are the glory of humanity. They have much to tell us that is well worthy of our hearing, and their office will grow in dignity and in sacredness with the advance of knowledge. It would be the depth of pessimism to predict that science will tend to impoverish and to debase humanity. Rather let us hope that the accession of cultivators of science and art to the ranks of spiritual philosophers, will both enrich the Church of Christ with new wealth of mind and heart, and will supply to themselves just that which is wanting to impart the highest dignity to their toil, and the brightest prospect to their vision.

J. RADFORD THOMSON.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

3. The Conditions of Entrance.

THE second Evangelist represents our Lord as commencing His public ministry in Galilee, with the announcement, "The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the good news." Repentance and faith were thus at the outset declared to be the conditions of admission into the kingdom. What did Christ mean by the words, and why are the things denoted indispensable to citizenship?

The doctrine of Jesus on repentance and faith, especially the former, can be fully understood only when we have become acquainted with other parts of His teaching, particularly His doctrine concerning God, man, and the righteousness The contents of the idea of repentance of the kingdom. must depend on the views set forth on these cardinal topics. If God be a Father, then repentance will mean ceasing to regard Him under any lower aspect; if man be a being of infinite importance as a moral subject and son of God, then repentance will mean realizing human dignity and responsibility; if the righteousness of the kingdom be spiritual and inward, having reference not merely to outward acts but to motives, then the summons to repentance will be a call not merely to a life for moral ends, but to self-criticism, so as to discern between true and false righteousness. For the present our inquiry must refer more to form than to matter, to principles rather than to details. These after all are the chief points; for when we have settled the general nature of repentance, as Christ preached it, the particulars can be filled in afterwards without difficulty.

¹ Mark i. 15.

On this subject, as in reference to the idea of the kingdom. there is a marked difference in tone and drift between Christ's teaching and that of the Baptist. Both use the same form of words, but they do not mean the same thing. The one instance of divergence is the effect of the other. Christ's conception of repentance springs out of His new thoughts concerning the kingdom of heaven. "When heaven and earth move towards each other, as in Christ's preaching of the kingdom, then on the part both of God and man must the Nay give place to the Yea, anger to love, fear to joy, shame to right action; and in festive attire, not in mourning weeds, all that has affinity for the Divine goes to meet the approaching God, proud to be or to become like Him."1 The contrast between Jesus and John is specially apparent at two points. There is first an inwardness in Christ's doctrine that is wholly lacking in John's. To perceive this we have only to compare the Sermon on the Mount with the directions given by the Baptist to publicans, soldiers, and others, who inquired what he would have them do.2 The sermon, which considered positively is an exposition of the righteousness of the kingdom, may be regarded negatively as an aid to self-criticism and exhortation to repentance. With this view it bids men look into their hearts, and examine their affections and the motives from which apparently good actions spring. on the other hand, directed attention merely to outward conduct, admonishing penitents to practise neighbourliness, honesty, contentment with their wages. It was enough, if the coming kingdom was merely the restored theocratic kingdom of Israel, a secular kingdom, only more virtuous than usual. kingdom of this world the ruler can take cognisance only of external acts. If the people abstain from stealing, violence, lying, adultery, they are in the eye of law a righteous nation; and they are treated as such even by the moral order of the world, for every nation which practises these and kindred

¹ Keim, Jesu von Nazara, ii. 77.

² Luke iii. 10-14

virtues is found to prosper. The fact that Christ turned the thoughts of His hearers from acts to dispositions, shows conclusively that He had in view a kingdom of another and higher description,—" not of this world."

The other point of contrast is that repentance as John preached it was an affair of details, while as Christ preached it, it was a matter of principle, a radical change in the chief end of life. John came preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He meant, "Alter your ways wherever they are amiss, for the great, dread King is near." His call resembled a summons to the population of a city to which the monarch is about to make a royal visit, to remove all nuisances out of the way, and to put on holiday attire, and turn out into the street to give their sovereign a worthy reception. But Christ called men to more than a reform of this or that bad habit, even to a radical change of mind, consisting in the recognition of the kingdom as the highest Good, and the most important subject that could engage their attention. "Seek ve first," He said, "the kingdom of God, and His righteousness;" 1 meaning, "Hitherto ye have been living as if life were no more than meat, and the supreme question for you has been, What shall we eat, what shall we drink, wherewithal shall we be clothed; henceforth let a loftier aim guide you, even to be citizens of the Divine kingdom, and to have a character becoming members of that holy commonwealth." of the exhortation shows that the kingdom the speaker had in view was not the theocratic kingdom of popular expectation. In that case He would have said, Seek ye first the righteousness of the kingdom, and only in the second place its temporal advantages; for the people were seeking the kingdom in the national sense already, their only fault was that they put the material and political aspects of it before the moral. was in effect what the Baptist said. He assumed that his

¹ Matt. vi. 31. The Vatican reading will be noticed hereafter.

hearers desired the coming of the kingdom, and bade them prepare for it by repentance and the culture of right conduct, lest its coming should prove to them the reverse of a blessing. Christ, on the other hand, was conscious that He had in His eye a kingdom for whose advent the average Jew did not long, which, nevertheless, would be a priceless boon to all who received it. Therefore He said not merely, Seek the righteousness of the kingdom, but, Seek the kingdom itself and its righteousness. And the call, as already said, was a summons to a radical repentance, a true μ erávoia, a change of mind not in reference to this or the other department of conduct, but in reference to the fundamental question, What is man's chief end and chief good?

Thus understood, the call to repentance issued by Jesus is seen to be no arbitrary requirement, but the indication of an indispensable condition of citizenship. If the kingdom be the highest conceivable object of human aims and hopes, it ought to be regarded and treated as such; and if men have not been hitherto doing that, to ask them to do it is, in other words, to summon them to repentance. And this being the meaning of the summons, we further perceive why it should be addressed to all, as it was by Jesus. For it is certainly not the way of men anywhere to make the kingdom of God of Christ's gospel their chief end and chief good. For the many material goods, "food and raiment," are the first objects of desire. "After these things do the Gentiles seek." After these things, it is to be feared, the majority of Israelites sought more than after righteousness, even in the lower sense of right conduct, justice, truth, honesty. There was therefore an urgent need for repentance even from the Baptist's point of view; and if his call had been generally responded to, it would have brought about an immense improvement in the actual state How much greater was the need of repentance if man's chief end was to seek the righteousness and the kingdom Christ preached, a righteousness of the heart, a kingdom of filial relations with God. How rare the men even in Israel who cared supremely or at all for these high matters!

With such a high ideal of life, we are not surprised to find Christ preaching repentance even to His own disciples at a late stage of His intercourse with them. The admonition to seek first the kingdom had been addressed principally if not exclusively to them, towards the commencement of the Galilean ministry; and towards its close their Master found it necessary to give them this more stern one: "Except ye turn, and become as the children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." 1 The term employed to denote the moral change is new,2 but the thing insisted on is the same, even a radical change of mind with regard to the chief end of life. It may indeed appear that in this case it is rather the correction of a special fault, pride or ambition, that is pointed at, than the great revolution of an initial spiritual crisis; a conversion in detail rather than in principle. Such special conversions or repentances are to be looked for in the course of religious experience, even in those who have already undergone radical renewal; for after the new principle of life has been adopted, it has to be worked out in all departments of conduct, and while this is being done, conflicts with old habits of thought and feeling and action are almost certain to occur. It was to such a conversion in detail, in the experience of Peter, Jesus alluded when, with reference to that disciple's sin of moral cowardice in denying his Master, He said, "When thou hast turned strengthen thy brethren." And we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that Jesus seriously considered anything, more than such a conversion necessary in the case of men who had been so long with Him, even when their sin was not, like Peter's, one of infirmity due to a surprise, but a rooted evil disposition breaking out into

¹ Matt. xviii. 3.

² στραφήτι. The compound iσιστρίφω occurs three times in Luke's Gospel; twice in i. 17, and in xxii. 32. In Acts the verb and the corresponding noun are used to denote the conversion of Gentiles from Paganism to Christianity.

unseemly manifestations. And yet we may not shut our minds to the graver alternative. Christ speaks too strongly to have in view merely the correction of a particular fault. He obviously regards childlikeness not as a graceful accomplishment of the citizen of the kingdom, but as an indispensable requirement. In saying, Be childlike, He is only saying in a new way. Give the kingdom the first place. we consider the matter, we see that ambition for distinction in the kingdom is only another way of committing the common sin of putting the kingdom in the second place. many do this by giving food and raiment the first place in their thoughts. The disciples, in forsaking all for the kingdom, rose above the vulgar form of worldliness. they became supremely concerned about their place in the kingdom, they were guilty of worldliness in a more refined They made the interests of the kingdom second, and their own standing therein first. Thus we see that Christ's demand for the unpretentiousness of childhood is only a new proof that in his view repentance consisted in a change of mind to the effect of exalting the kingdom to the place of supremacy. We may also find in it a significant hint as to the true nature of the kingdom and its rightcousness. kingdom of God so conceived of as to give rise to ambitious passions is not such in reality, but a kingdom of this world. The utmost devotion to such a counterfeit does not amount to compliance with the demand, Seek first the kingdom. that there is needed not only zeal but pure motive; and the kingdom is there only where zeal and motive coalesce, zeal excluding impurity of motive, and purity of motive guaranteeing the due measure of zeal. The kingdom of God is a kingdom of love from which selfishness in every form is excluded; not merely the mitigated selfishness of concern about animal wants, but the intenser though subtler selfishness of egotism and vainglory. Hence it follows that there may be much religious activity, making a great display of zeal and gaining golden opinions, which has no relation to the kingdom of God, except it be one of antagonism, and no more makes us children of the kingdom than does the struggle for existence amid the secular callings of life. The struggle for religious name and church place and power may be more respectable than the struggle for physical livelihood, but it is not less, but rather more, ungodly. It deepens our reverence for Christ as a spiritual Teacher that He said this quite plainly, and even with passionate emphasis; not slurring over the vices of disciples, while loudly denouncing the vulgar worldliness of the multitude.

Of this also, however, He was wont to speak faithfully, as we learn from His bitter complaint against the inhabitants of the towns lying along the shores of the Galilean lake among whom He mainly exercised His ministry. It was to the effect that they repented not, though such mighty works had been done among them as might have moved even Tyre and Sidon and Sodom to repentance.1 The charge is significant as confirmatory of the view we have given of the sense in which Christ used the word. The inhabitants of the plain of Gennesareth are not accused of being sinners like the men of Sodom; that ancient city is rather referred to as the extreme instance of sensual wickedness, in comparison with which the people by the Galilean Sea might justly deem themselves exemplary. What then was their fault? was that the mighty deeds of the Christ had not led them to give the kingdom its place of supremacy. They had been much interested in these deeds; they had followed the Doer with eager curiosity and intense admiration; they had even been willing, according to an intimation in the fourth Gospel, to make Him their King, and so set up the Messianic kingdom.2 Still they remained essentially as they had been before, greatly more concerned about food and raiment than about righteousness and the kingdom of God in the true

¹ Matt. xi. 20-24.

sense of the words. Their state was that so graphically depicted in the words Christ is represented as addressing to the multitude at Capernaum by the fourth Evangelist: "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the signs, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled;" "Busy not yourselves about the food that perisheth, but about the food that endureth unto eternal life." From such words, as from those addressed to the disciples at a later date, the plain inference is that repentance as preached by Jesus was a very high requirement indeed, with which few complied in a manner He deemed satisfactory.

Though mentioned here in the second place, after repentance, faith was in reality the first and chief condition of admission to the kindgom in the teaching of Jesus. was a great word with Him, and through Him it became a great word in the New Testament literature, the watchword of the era of grace, so that it might also be called the era of faith. Christ was Himself emphatically a man of faith. lived a life of perfect holiness by faith in His heavenly He wrought His miracles by faith. He demanded faith in others as the condition of His ability to work miracles for their benefit. He regarded faith as an almighty power by which not only He but any of His disciples could do wonders, and without which nothing great could be accomplished. He was grieved by manifestations of unbelief or weak faith; from exhibitions of strong faith He derived intense pleasure. He had unbounded confidence in faith's virtue within the moral sphere as a recuperative influence, raising the fallen, sanctifying the sinful, restoring peace to the troubled conscience. He commended trust in their heavenly Father to His followers as the best religious service they could render, and as an infallible specific against fear and care.

All this was significant of a new departure. The pro-

minence given to faith denotes a new way of conceiving the kingdom. "Repent," the Baptist's watchword, suits one idea of "Believe," Christ's watchword, suits and implies another and very different one. "Repent" is the appropriate word when the kingdom is conceived of as the reward of legal righteousness; "believe" is the more appropriate word when the kingdom is conceived of as a gift of grace to be conferred on all who are simply willing to receive it. one case the message to be delivered to men is, "Conform your lives to the law that you may hope to obtain the honours of membership in the holy commonwealth;" in the other it is, "The kingdom of grace is here, God is come to dwell among men in the plenitude of His love; make the kingdom welcome, and it will make you welcome." To comply with this invitation, and to receive the kingdom as offered, is to believe; faith needs no better definition: it consists in spiritual receptivity. And the kingdom being such as described, not a mere kingdom of law in which God appears making demands, but first of all a kingdom of grace in which God appears freely bestowing benefits, it is clear that receptivity is not only a suitable attitude, but an indispensable one. The kingdom being a gift, the one thing needful is that it be received. This indispensable requirement is happily one within the reach of all. The gospel of a kingdom so conceived as to require only faith, is a gospel for the million. The announcement that the kingdom was approaching, made by the Baptist, was a gospel or good tidings only to the few who were righteous, or who had strength of will to reform their lives in obedience to a mere legal demand. Christ's announcement of a kingdom that had simply to be received, was a gospel for all; for sinners not less than for saints, for them even chiefly or very He came, as He Himself said, signalizing this fact, "not to call righteous ones, but sinners;" He came calling sinners, not "to repentance" merely, according

to the expanded form of the saying as given by Luke, but generally to participation in all the benefits of the kingdom. If we must add an interpretative gloss to the original word, the more appropriate one would be "to faith." For the kingdom of Christ's Evangel was such that what men had to do first of all was to receive it as a boon, and sinners had the best reasons for being ready to do that.

The adoption of faith as the new watchword was, moreover, a prophecy of Christian universalism. A Divine kingdom addressing itself to faith is likely not only to go down to the lowest moral depths of Jewish society that it may raise the low and lost to heavenly heights, but also to overleap the geographical boundaries of Palestine and become a world-wide phenomenon. The word "repent" holds out little hope to those outside the pale. It is spoken most fitly to a covenanted people for whom God had done much, and from whom therefore He demands much. The preacher of repentance by the banks of the Jordan thinks naturally only of the children of Abraham, and his summons refers exclusively to theocratic privileges and obligations. But when one comes preaching faith, He may readily have the Gentiles in view. For though they too have abundant cause for repentance, they have sinned in ignorance, and are more fitly objects of compassion than of wrath. They need grace, and if they are to have any part in the kingdom, their first duty will be to believe in grace, and possibly they may develop no mean capacity for believing. Why should not the Preacher of a kingdom addressing itself to faith have these thoughts present to His mind? Nay, how could He fail to have the Gentiles in His view if He realized the import of His own programme?

The gospel history supplies abundant evidence that Christ fully understood the scope of His doctrine of faith in all directions. Specially significant in this connection are the

¹ Luke v. 32. The sis paravour of Luke's text is a false reading in the other Gospels introduced for the purpose of assimilation.

three narratives, of the woman "who was a sinner," the Roman centurion, and the woman of Syro-Phœnicia.1 The first shows Christ's estimate of the power of faith as a redemptive force; the other two reveal His consciousness that before faith all barriers of race, rite, or election must go down. The woman who entered into Simon's house Jesus assumed to be a great sinner; nay, held her proved to be, by the very intensity of her love to Himself as exhibited in her remarkable behaviour. From the great love He inferred a great need of forgiveness. Yet He had perfect confidence in the power of faith to "save" her, to make her happy and good. "Thy faith hath saved thee," He said to her at parting; "go into peace." In what had just taken place He saw the process of salvation begun, and even virtually completed. Faith in the good tidings we may assume she had heard Him preach (for "faith cometh by hearing"), had led her to believe in the forgiveness of sins, and to cherish hope of being able by Heaven's help to live a useful, pure life for the future. The very sight of Him had been a gospel to the heart of this fallen one, revealing an infinite depth of tender, pure sympathy with the like of her which touched the remnants of true womanhood in her, and made sensual impulses seem hateful. And now here she was in His presence, suitable occasion offering, her heart bursting with gratitude for benefit received, and demonstrating by a series of extraordinary actions her pure though passionate affection for her Saviour. What better evidence could one desire of faith's power than the moral transformation actually effected: a sinner turned into a penitent, a harlot into a devotee: the shameless one raised above the shame which keeps men from doing noble actions, and become a heroine who can defy conventional proprieties at the bidding of the Here was a last one become first: in the very first passages of her new life leaving Simon the Pharisee far

¹ Luke vii. 36-50; Matt. viii. 5-13, Luke vii. 1-10; Matt. xv. 21-28, Mark vii. 24-30.

behind—his behaviour towards his guest, compared with hers, seeming cold and mean. It was with these things in view, Jesus declared, surely not without reason, that faith had True, the new life was only begun, and saved that woman. there were many risks ahead. Many conversions are only temporary, and early enthusiasms are too often followed by lament-Jesus knew all that full well; but He was not a Pharisee, therefore He deemed it better to speak a generous word than to offer cold advices, to sympathize than to caution. He believed that faith, and what faith feeds on, redeeming love in God and man, is the best preservative against apostasy, and that when it fails no other influences will be of much Nor did He send the penitent away with that cheering sympathetic word, from mere motives of prudence. from conviction, as cherishing strong hopes for the future of He saw no reason in the evil past for the erring one. He believed it possible for great offenders permanently to forsake wicked ways and rise to great heights of sanctity. He even expected such, once changed, to rise Therefore it was that He spent so much of His time among the outcasts. He expected to find there the best The motto "Much forgiveness much citizens of the kingdom. love" was part of His apology for His sympathetic relations with the class of which the woman "who was a sinner" was The confidence He expressed in her case was not the result of a momentary generous impulse. It embodied a fixed principle on which He acted all through His ministry. "It is faith that saves, it can save the lowest, it can save them most conspicuously,"-such was the cheering, hopeful creed of Jesus Christ.

In the light of that creed we understand why Jesus said so much less about repentance than about faith. He believed that faith would do the work of repentance, that indeed it bore repentance in its bosom. And when we recall His definition of repentance, we perceive that the fact is even so.

Repentance means a change of mind consisting in the recognition of the kingdom as the chief end of man. But faith. we have found, means the reception of the same kingdom as the highest good, the sum of all blessedness bestowed on men as a free gift from God. Evidently, then, the reception of the boon by faith is the most direct way to the goal aimed at in repentance, the exaltation of the kingdom and its interests to the place of supremacy. And the repentance thus brought about is altogether wholesome; not legal but evangelic, not compulsory but spontaneous; not a habit of sadness as if doing eternal penance for the past, but a turning of the moral energies in a new direction in cheerfulness and hope, letting the dead past bury its dead. way, not after the rueful manner of the Baptist circle, would Jesus have His disciples repent. What He said to the palsied man, He virtually said to all: "Courage, child, thy sins are forgiven thee." 1 He summoned penitents not to fasting but to service, such as that of the women who followed Him and ministered to Him of their substance.2 She that had been a sinner probably joined that company, and that was the way by which she entered into peace.

In the cases of the Roman centurion and the woman of Syro-Phœnicia, the faith manifested, though in both instances eliciting the admiration and praise of Jesus, was less obviously of the kind that "saves." The benefit sought in both cases was physical, and the faith exercised in seeking it seems rather a capacity for uttering bright sayings, and the eulogy called forth appears to be homage done to genius under another name. There is certainly something to be learned from these narratives concerning the psychology of faith as conceived by Jesus. Obviously He did not regard faith as an isolated faculty separate from reason, and still less as opposed to reason, but rather as a function of the whole mind exercised on religion. Those whom He accounted great in faith were

¹ Matt. ix. 2.

² Luke viii. 1-3.

thus likely to be interesting people, in all respects far from commonplace either intellectually or morally; and in fact it is evident that all the three chief characters in the incidents under consideration, the sinful woman, the centurion, and the Syro-Phœnician, were as far as possible from being common-There was an element of genius and heroism in them all; a talent for doing uncommon actions, for thinking great thoughts, for uttering sparkling, witty words. And the truth is, whatever prejudice may exist to the contrary, faith is always a heroic quality, by no means a prosaic homespun virtue likely to be most conspicuous in persons of dull minds, and characterized by moral mediocrity. As to the physical nature of the benefit, Jesus did not view it in isolation any more than the faculty of faith. His idea seems to have been that as faith in its acting maintains solidarity with all the mental powers, so all its acts are in solidarity with each other. Capacity to believe in one direction implies capacity to believe in all directions.

While intellect was conspicuously active in the centurion and in the Syro-Phœnician woman, faith in the ethical and religious sense also revealed itself in no ordinary degree. The saying of the centurion, besides indicating deep humility, showed strong faith in the power and the will of the Divine Being, as represented by Jesus, to interpose in the world's affairs as a helper of men in their needs. It is true, any one not inclined to think well of Pagans might very easily detract from the merit of the striking word which compared Christ to a general or imperator, by representing it as the combined product of Roman military discipline and Roman religious superstition.¹ But the centurion's faith is thus made less remarkable in one aspect, only to become more significant in another direction. If Christ's praise was exaggerated, it but the more conspicuously evinces his philo-Pagan spirit, and

¹ Weiss characterizes the centurion's idea as "certainly very superstitious" (Leben Jesu, i. p. 425).

raises the hope that the generous eye of Heaven may detect traces of faith in the hearts of benighted heathens dimly groping after the true God, where narrow-souled men judging by dogmatic tests would discover none. We may safely assume, however, that the praise, while generous, as was always Christ's way, was in the main deserved. In that case the centurion's faith, as that of a Pagan,-for such we may regard him, even if, as is probable from Luke's narrative,1 he had become a Jewish proselyte,—possesses peculiar value as foreshadowing the universal destination of the kingdom. Here on heathen soil, so to speak, is a faith which on Christ's own testimony eclipses any to be seen in Israel. melancholy, although not a surprising fact, as it concerns Israel. Here is a people which has had a very long and careful training in religion, and has busied itself very much with And the result is that the faith-faculty has almost died out within it; has been killed out by Rabbinism, which can believe in no new revelations, but only in old revelations overgrown by the moss of centuries. There is a better chance of learning what faith can be and do by going outside the Jewish pale. Verily a thing of evil omen for the elect For if the kingdom addresses itself to faith, and if faith be forthcoming among Pagans more readily than among Israelites, will it not forsake the sacred soil and step forth into the Gentile world, going where it meets with a hearty welcome? The reflection forces itself on our minds, and we are not surprised that it suggested itself to Jesus and found expression in the words: "Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out."2 The truth that the gospel is for the world is not expressed here as Paul expressed it. The kingdom does not go to the Pagans, the Pagans come to the kingdom, localized in the Holy Land.

Luke vii. 5.

² Matt. viii. 11.

But the day-dawn of Christian universalism is manifestly here.

In the case of the Syro-Phœnician woman the dawn grows Here also there is a double interest, a personal interest connected with the unfolding of a striking human character, and the didactic interest connected with the fact that the heroine was a Pagan. We all feel the charm of the story. The pathos, humour, and meekness blended together in the pleadings of this Syrian mother for her afflicted daughter conquer every Christian heart. Had the narrative told that Jesus persisted in His refusal, it would have been hard for us to have borne it. But there was no risk of that Not that Jesus was not in earnest in the happening. declaration made to His disciples that His vocation was to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He meant that seriously, and then and always acted on it. But faith made all the Faith anywhere and everywhere must be redifference. spected. Jesus accordingly did respect faith in this instance, and in the light of His ultimate compliance with the woman's request, His rule of conduct became modified thus: Israel my ordinary care, with exceptions made in favour of faith. In Christ's own lifetime the exceptions were few, but these exceptions, and the one before us in particular, were prophetic of a time when the exception would become the rule. Christian universalism was immanent in the Syro-Phœnician's faith; therein lay its profound religious significance. When she said meekly and wittily, "We are Gentile dogs, yet there is a portion even for the dogs of the household crouching below the family table," she expressed by implication her belief that the barrier between Jew and Gentile was not insurmountable, that election did not exclude the outside world from all share in Divine compassion, that Heaven's grace could not possibly be confined within certain geographical boundaries. She said in effect what Paul said afterwards, "God is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also;" with him she

ascribed to God's love a length and breadth wide as the Her faith filled up the deep ravine of Pagan unworthiness, and levelled the mountain range of election which separated Jews from Gentiles, and made a straight way for the kingdom with its blessings even into Syro-Phœnicia. All this Jesus understood, and all this He had in view in granting the request. His ultimate compliance was not a merely exceptional favour to a Pagan out of regard to a most unusual spiritual insight. It was a virtual proclamation that before faith all partition walls must fall, that wherever there is recipiency the blessings of the kingdom must be communicated, irrespective of race, rite, or peculiar privilege. an anticipation of the position taken up by the Apostolic Church in Jerusalem, when, in deference to undeniable facts. its members said, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." In their case it was a reluctant acknowledgment in which deeply-rooted prejudice yielded to the force of events. One may feel disappointment that in this respect there is the appearance of a resemblance between their attitude and that of Jesus on this occasion. It is natural to wish that His universalism had been as pronounced and as undeniable as that of Paul, by the side of whom His reluctant yielding to the pressure of importunate faith wears an aspect of provincial narrowness. But that could not be. However like Paul in spirit and conviction, Jesus could not but be more reserved in utterance and in action. Respect was due to the law of development. Bright day is ushered in by the grey dim dawn. It was good and wholesome that the day of grace should thus gradually steal on. The public action of Jesus was guided by this consideration. fining His activities to Israel, He was exercising a self-restraint which was a veritable part of His earthly humiliation. How real the self-restraint was, appears from the heartiness and even eagerness with which exception was made on good cause shown. In the case of the Syro-Phænician woman, as in

the case of the Roman centurion, it would have been very easy for an illiberal churlish Jew to have minimized the merit of the words spoken. It is always so easy to put a sinister construction on the conduct of people we dislike! Good qualities may be turned into their opposites: humility into impudence, genial wit into mere pertness. Christ saw in that woman nothing that was not there; nevertheless He saw what He was very willing to see; what no scribe, rabbi, or Pharisee would ever have discovered. It was once asked with reference to Jesus Himself, "Can any good thing come That He was not inclined to ask, out of Nazareth?" "Can any good thing come out of heathendom?" His admiring exclamation, "O woman, great is thy faith!"1 very sufficiently demonstrates. Though He did not say it, He doubtless felt that here again was a faith the like of which was not to be found in Israel. The remark might have been made with even more justice than in the case of the centurion. Faith was a scarce commodity in Israel in any form; and what there was of it was of a homeward-bound character—faith in a grace available for the chosen race, but not for those beyond the pale. Here, on Pagan soil, on the contrary, was a faith remarkable not only for its brightness and strength, but for its spiritual enlightenment and width of horizon; accepting as a truism what to the ordinary Jew seemed all but incredible, that there was hope in God even for Gentiles.

After the foregoing observations, it can hardly be necessary to point out that, in the view of Christ, faith was not only the necessary but the sufficient condition of admission to the kingdom. "Faith alone" was a motto for Christ not less than for Paul. Faith alone with reference to repentance, because including it; faith alone with reference to circum-

¹ Matt. xv. 28. Mark's version is less gushing: "For this saying go thy way" (vii. 29). The meaning is the same. The gush comes out in action: "The devil is gone out of thy daughter."

cision and the like externalities, because rendering them utterly meaningless. Faith alone sufficed in the case of the Syro-Phœnician mother and her daughter. The mother came to Jesus a Pagan, and she returned to her home a Pagan, yet with a blessing for herself and for her afflicted child. is true, indeed, that faith obtained, apparently, only the dog's portion, a crumb of healing for a diseased body. not suffice for that, yet fail to obtain the full benefits of citizenship in the holy commonwealth without the aid of some supplementary qualification, such as, for example, cir-No, for there is solidarity in the benefits procumcision? curable by faith, as well as in faith's actings. The law of solidarity prevails all round. The soul exerts all its energies in believing; faith's individual acts all hang together; God's gifts to faith go in a body. If anything is given all is given. Faith makes the dog a child, and gets a share not only of the crumbs below the table, but of all the viands on the table. That is the law of the kingdom. Recipiency is the sole External conditions can have no place in requirement. reference to the Highest Good. Existing restrictions are only economical and temporary, and a sign that the era of spiritual reality is not yet come. The behaviour of Jesus towards the Pagans mentioned in the Gospels shows that He was of this mind.

ALEX. B. BRUCE.

STUDIES IN THE MINOR PROPHETS.

JOEL

2. The Background of Jocl's Prophecy.

THE prophets were sent to proclaim the Word of the Lord. Their function was to put into discourses and verbal messages the mind and will of Jehovah. Events often speak plainly; and yet, because of the moral insensibility of those who are visited by them, it may be requisite that a preacher should appear, who can both point the lessons and enforce them. The sufferings which are the results of natural occurrences are apt to be regarded as separated altogether from Divine discipline. Men's hearts are, no doubt, softened by the weight of woe, but they are also hardened by it. The mercy of the Lord it is that accompanies the external visitation with the gracious utterance of warning and appeal. The prophecy of Joel is an example of this Divine forbearance. It will be evident what is the special character and value of the book itself, when we have studied the background on which its message stands forth.

A broad division of subject is easily recognised in the book of Joel. The whole of the first chapter, and the second chapter down to the end of the twenty-seventh verse, may be said to be a summary of Joel's preaching on the occasion of a great calamity sent upon the land,—the destruction of its crops and cattle, and the sufferings entailed upon the population, together with the impoverishment of the national worship for lack of offerings. This terrible visitation was effected through the agency of locusts and destructive grubs, sent in immensenumbers. Then at the twenty-eighth verse of the second chapter commences an entirely new subject. The religious revival

produced through the instrumentality of the prophets, and by means of the national troubles, is taken as typical and prophetic of a far greater revival—the outpouring of the spirit of penitence and prophecy upon all flesh. In connection with that wider view of the future, predictions are introduced which foretell the judgments of God on surrounding heathen nations, and the preparation of the world for the great day of the Lord, which shall be a day of destruction upon all that oppose themselves against His kingdom, but a day of blessing upon There can be no doubt as to the wider the true Jerusalem. scope of this latter portion of the prophecy. It is most elevated in tone and language. It leaves out of sight altogether the mere temporary incidents of Judea, and contemplates the whole world with its multitudes brought into the Valley of Decision. The last note is one that is heard sounding on for ever, from generation to generation, and the last sight upon which the prophet calls us to look is the "Lord dwelling in Zion."

But the question has been much debated whether, in the first half of the book, Joel is dealing with literal occurrences, or, with poetical licence, is employing the suggestions of a natural event to portray a predicted judgment. Some would understand the case thus. There was a plague of locusts, of special severity, which was beginning to alarm the people lest it should bring upon them famine and destruction; Joel was sent to them at that crisis to call them to repentance, in view of still greater judgments hanging over the land,—the armies of the great Mesopotamian conqueror, coming first upon Israel and then upon Judah. He employed the figurative language suggested by the locusts, their numbers, manner of approach, voracity, and irresistibleness, to set forth the awfulness of that visitation which was in the future. But there is another view of the prophet's method which is supported by some of the best writers, and which seems more consistent with the fact that the book is broadly divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the past and

present, or immediate future, and the second part with that which is suggested by the events of the time, and concerned the distant and eternal future. The plague of locusts was a very great and serious calamity. Joel was sent to enforce its lessons, and call the people to repentance. There was no necessity to go beyond the facts of that day, which was a true day of judgment from the Lord. part of the book, therefore, deals entirely and wholly with the sufferings of the people and the call to repentance, while there is a general application of the facts to the purpose of a wider scope—the wickedness of the land being plainly condemned, and the judgments of Jehovah threatened. Those who discover in the language a distinct prediction of invasion by foreign armies, argue that the representation is altogether too exaggerated to refer only to locusts and their ravages, and that the description in the twentieth verse of the second chapter, of the "driving away of the northern," could not refer to the insects, as they would not come from the north, and must therefore be taken as pointing to armies of soldiers coming, as most invaders of Palestine have come, from the Dr. Pusey has laid great stress upon this view. He also sees in the use of the type of "locust armies" in other parts of prophecy, and in the book of Revelation, a confirmation of his position. But it must be remembered that when once the language of Joel was embodied in the Scriptures, it would be a very natural thing for subsequent writers to employ such a description of the judgments which were threatened. Joel speaks of locusts as though they were an army, other prophets speak of armies as though they were locusts. We must consider Joel's method apart altogether from the imitations of it which followed, otherwise we shall be moving in a circle. There is certainly some force in what Dr. Pusey has observed in his commentary, that the invading army is spoken of by Joel in one or two places as though it were an army of responsible agents, as, e.g. in i. 6,

"A nation is come up upon my land" [is], but then it must be borne in mind that Joel is using the figure of an army, and could therefore consistently speak of the locusts as though they were an army. Another consideration which somewhat relieves this difficulty is the ideal form of the whole prophecy. The plague of locusts is evidently intended to be regarded as symbolical of greater judgments, but at the same time the immediate reference is to the sufferings of the people from the natural visitation. Hence there is no description of any other desolation effected by the destroyer than that which is upon the agricultural produce, and indirectly on the house of God by the failure of offerings. "The vines and fig trees are laid waste, the field is wasted, the land mourneth, for the corn is The new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth, the pomegranate tree, the palm tree, the apple tree,-all the trees of the field are withered. The meat offering and the drink offering are cut off from the house of the Lord. rotten under their clods, the garners are laid desolate, the barns are broken down, for the corn is withered (i.e. the barns are falling into ruin for want of use). The beasts groan, the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate." Exactly the same kind of language is employed in the second chapter, in describing the removing of the curse and the restoration of the It is plainly an agricultural visitation. There is not an allusion to the destruction of towns and overthrow of the national existence, nor to loss of life, nor to shedding of blood. It is true that the "prophet speaks of fire, flame, drought," as Dr. Pusey has observed, but the figure is quite appropriate. Travellers bear witness that a visitation of locusts is so fearful a disaster that the land is as though it were scorched by It is argued that the representation is altogether too strong to be taken any otherwise than allegorically, but this must be matter of opinion. Some have maintained that it is fully borne out by the facts. The following remarks of

Delitzsch will be read with interest in this connection:—" As it is a fact established by the unanimous testimony of the most credible witnesses, that wherever swarms of locusts descend, all the vegetation in the fields immediately vanishes. just as if a curtain had been rolled up; that they spare neither the juicy bark of woody plants nor the roots below the ground: that their cloud-like swarms darken the air, and render the sun and even men at a little distance off invisible; that their innumerable and closely compact army advances in military array in a straight course, most obstinately maintained; that it cannot be turned back or dispersed, either by natural obstacles or human force; that on its approach a loud roaring noise is heard like the rushing of a torrent, a waterfall, or a strong wind; that they no sooner settle to eat, than you hear on all sides the grating sound of their mandibles, and, as Volney expresses it, might fancy that you heard the foraging of an invisible army;—if we compare these and other natural observations with the statements of Joel, we shall find everywhere the most faithful picture, and nowhere any hyperbole requiring for its justification and explanation that the army of locusts should be paraphrased into an army of men; more especially as the devastation of a country by an army of locusts is far more terrible than that of an ordinary army; and there is no allusion either expressed or hinted at, to a massacre among the people. And if we consider, still further, that the migratory locusts (Acridium migratorium, in Oken) find their grave sometimes in dry and barren steppes and sometimes in lakes and seas, it is impossible to comprehend how the promise in ch. ii. 20,-one part of the army now devastating Judah shall be hurled into the southern desert, the van into the Dead Sea, and the rear into the Mediterranean-can harmonize with the allegorical view."

Dr. Pusey makes much of the single expression in ii. 20, "But I will remove far off from you the northern." It is no doubt the strongest point in appearance which favours the

allegorical interpretation. But it is certainly unfair to assume that the meaning of the "northern" is the "northman," i.e. the people from the north. It seems, taken in connection with the rest of the description of the destruction by the plague, to denote either that the locusts "settled in the north" or that the "van" was there. The remarks of Keil in his commentary are well worthy of attention. As an epithet applied to the swarm of locusts, the term the northern one, furnishes no decisive argument in favour of the allegorical interpretation of the plague of locusts. For even if locusts generally came to Palestine from the south, out of the Arabian desert, the remark made by Jerome, to the effect that "the swarms of locusts are more generally brought by the south wind than by the north," shows that the rule is not without its exceptions. "Locusts come and go with all winds" (Oedman, ii. p. 97). In Arabia, Niebuhr saw swarms of locusts come from south, west, north, and east. home is not confined to the desert of Arabia, but they are found in all the sandy deserts, which form the southern boundaries of the lands that were, and to some extent still are, the seat of cultivation, viz. in the Sahara, the Libyan desert, Arabia, and Irak (Credner, p. 285); and Niebuhr saw a large tract of land on the road from Mosul to Nisibis completely covered with young locusts. They are also met with in the Syrian desert, from which swarms could easily be driven to Palestine by a north-east wind without having to fly across the mountains of Lebanon. Such a swarm as this might be called the northern one, or northerner, even if the north was not its true home. For it cannot be philologically proved that "tsephoni" can only denote one whose home is in the north. Such explanations as the "Typhonian, the barbarian," and others, which we meet with in Hitzig, Ewald, and Meier, and which are obtained by alterations of the text, or farfetched etymologies, must be rejected as arbitrary. That which came from the north shall also be driven away by the

north wind, viz. the great mass into the dry and desert land. i.e. the desert of Arabia, the van into the front (or eastern) sea, i.e. the Dead Sea (Ezek. xlvii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8), the rear into the hinder (or western) sea, i.e. the Mediterranean (cf. Deut. xi. 24). "This is, of course, not to be understood as signifying that the dispersion was to take place in all these three directions at one and the same moment, in which case three different winds would blow at the same time; but it is a rhetorical picture of rapid and total destruction, which is founded upon the idea that the wind rises in the north-west, then turns to the north and finally to the north-east, so that the van of the swarm is driven into the eastern sea, the great mass into the southern desert, and the rear into the western Joel mentions both the van and the rear after the main body, simply because they both met with the same fate, both falling into the sea and perishing there; whereupon their dead bodies are thrown up by the waves upon the shore, where their putrefaction fills the air with stench. The perishing of locusts in seas and lakes is attested by many authorities." The only other point that it is requisite to notice is the expression at the close of chap. ii. 20, "because he hath done great things." No doubt the word which is used would generally denote the proud, haughty behaviour of a conqueror, and there may be intended a covert allusion to the future appearance of the Babylonish monarch; but it is much more natural to suppose that there is a personification of the locust army, regarded as an agent by which Jehovah has punished His people. We must take the description as a whole, and while it is perfectly true that there is an emphasis and hyperbole in it, which points to its symbolic use, as a warning to the people of the coming of the great day of the Lord, still it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the prophet is not composing an allegory, but improving a real occurrence.

Let us now look more closely at the framework in which

the prophecy is set. The opening words bring before us three generations of men,-the former generation of fathers, the present of adults, and the following one of children. the future is still farther lengthened out by the prospect of In this long stretch of time, of more children's children. than a hundred years, the event which is about to be described is represented as standing alone. No such occurrence has taken place in the memory of man, and it will be talked of for generations to come. The fourth verse vividly portravs the trouble—a succession of visitations upon the agriculture of the land. "That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten." The devouring enemies described are four in number, succeeding one another, the "gazâm," the "'arbeh," the "yelek," and the "chasīl." Whether these are four different names given to the locusts, four different species or generations, or four different stages of its growth, or four different kinds of destroyers, it is exceedingly difficult to decide. Keil says: "It is impossible to point out any difference in usage between 'gâzâm' and 'chasil,' or between these two words and 'arbeh.'" rendered, they signify the "qnawer," the "multiplier." the "licker." the "devourer." Three of them are "simply poetical epithets applied to the locust (the 'arbeh'), which never occur in simple, plain prose, but are confined to the loftier (rhetorical and poetical) style." The idea is therefore swarms of locusts following one another, until every remnant of vegetation is gone. Perhaps there is a typical significance in the use of the number four, as referring to the four quarters of the earth, and therefore representing the universality of the destruction in the land of Judea. There is no historical record of any such visitation of locusts. But as such visitations are not infrequent in the East, it is no very difficult thing to reconcile the omission with the method of the Jewish

history, which very seldom refers to any natural occurrence, except as it bears upon national or religious history. The earthquake, to which the prophet Amos refers in his opening words, must have been so tremendous an event that as Dean Stanley remarks, "the whole prophetic imagery of the time is coloured by the anticipations or recollections of this memorable event;" and yet the only traces of it in historical books are in the later books, the Chronicles, and Josephus. We can, therefore, easily suppose that some unusually severe visitation of locusts might be employed by the prophet Joel as the text of his prophecy, without any contemporary record. It seems most probable that the ministry of the prophet lasted but a short time, either immediately before the plague commenced or while it continued. It was a terrible calamity. The sufferings involved in it must have been very great, and spread over the whole community. very staff of life was broken. Famine stared the people in the face-"darkness, gloominess, clouds, thick darkness." No figures are powerful enough to depict the extent of the calamity. "The very earth quakes and the heavens tremble; the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining." Such language is common in the lips of an Eastern preacher, and it would be no exaggeration of the evils for which both man and beast were suffering during those dreary months. But the trouble was not in the outward circumstances and condition only, it affected the religious state of the people. "The priests, the Lord's ministers, mourn." "Gird yourselves, and lament, ye priests; howl, ye ministers of the altar; come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God: for the meat offering and the drink offering is withholden from the house of your God." We must not suppose that Joel used such words in a merely Levitical or ritualistic spirit, otherwise we should find it difficult to enter into them. What the Lord requires is "mercy and not sacrifice." what purpose would be the multitude of the offerings to Him, and how could He expect them when the people suffered and were unable to present them? The intention of this allusion to the impoverishment of the external worship is evidently to draw attention to the spiritual falling off in the land. "Those who saw a regular succession of prayers and sacrifices would naturally contract a faith in a regular succession of rain and crops. Both feelings were desirable, until the sense of mere sequence in outward phenomena dulled the mind as to the invisible cause, the inward order which they betokened" (Maurice). The desertion of the house of God was a still more terrible evil than the desolation of the land. The moral and spiritual decay was worse than the loss of property and the physical suffering. But we look in vain in this book for any specific description of the sins of It is a remarkable fact that loud as is the call to Judah. repentance, the evil ways which have to be confessed are not enumerated, barely hinted at. Is not the explanation that the general state of the people at that time was too well known to need any detailed denunciations? We have spoken of the events which formed the background of Joel's prophecy; we will now briefly indicate the features of the moral landscape.

The temporary overthrow of the idolatrous party in Judah through the very vigorous and decided efforts of the high priest Jehoiada, no doubt led to a considerable revival of the temple-worship at Jerusalem. But such reforming movements are apt to be followed by reaction. This is especially the case when they have been the effect of one man's extraordinary influence in the nation. It was chiefly through the priestly order that Jehoiada obtained his triumph. The people generally were but too little awakened to the necessity of a deep and heartfelt acknowledgment of their past errors and defection from Jehovah. The call which Joel makes upon them is for a spiritual change. "Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all

your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God; for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil" (ii. 12, 13). The land was full of self-complacent indifference. The people acquiesced in the external reformation which the priests effected. The punishment of Baalworshippers was substituted for the punishment of sin. dull, mechanical temper of mind, obedience to mere custom, impulses communicated from without, not from a spirit within, a will recognising no higher law than the opinion of men, this is that turning away from God, that implicit denial of His presence, which makes it a most needful thing that the call should go forth from some human lips, and be echoed by unwonted natural calamities, and be received as coming straight from the mouth of the Lord, 'Repent and be converted'" (Maurice). But there was not only formality and religious indifference in the land. The allusion to drunkenness in the very opening appeal, chap. i. 5, "Awake, ye drunkards, and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it is cut off from your mouth," points very distinctly to a state of moral laxness and self-indulgence in society generally. It is the only reference to any specific sin throughout the prophecy. We can scarcely doubt that drunkenness is employed as a representative sin to denote a whole class of sins. The drunkards were not a majority in the land, but they were more immediately affected by the visitation which was sent; for the cup was, as it were, struck out of their hand, and they were suddenly brought to their sober senses by the failure of the vines. There was a want of sobriety and self-control in the people generally. They were not alive to their vocation as the people of God. They were living luxurious lives. They were intoxicated with their own vain thoughts and with the heathenish ideas which were multiplying among them. "All sin stupefies the sinner. All

intoxicate the mind, bribe and pervert the judgment, dull the conscience, blind the soul and make it insensible to its own ills. All the passions—anger, vainglory, ambition, avarice, and the rest—are a spiritual drunkenness, inebriating the soul, as strong drink doth the body" (Pusey). It is very true, as Dr. Pusey has observed, that the mention of the drunkard is not because the chastisement sent upon the people was brought down upon them specially by the sin of drunkenness, but because that sin is "especially affected and touched by the chastisement." "Joel's prophecy is one declaration of the displeasure of God against all sin, and of His judgments consequent thereon, one promise of pardon upon earnest repentance; and so, perhaps, what is individual has, for the most part, been purposely suppressed" (Intoduction to Joel). there was degeneracy and moral laxness among the people. we see very distinctly by reviewing the circumstances connected with the murder of Zechariah, who followed his father Jehoiada in the high-priesthood. Whether the book of Joel was written before or after that murder cannot be decided: but the moral state of the nation was much the same for some years. The young king Joash had been flattered by a wicked aristocracy, by no means purified from the old idolatrous tendencies brought in by the usurping queen Athaliah. read in the second book of Chronicles (xxv. 18) that "the king hearkened to the princes of Judah. And they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served gods and idols; and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass." This would seem to point to the plague of "Yet he sent prophets to them to bring them again locusts. unto the Lord; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear." Zechariah was among the prophets, for priests were sometimes prophets, and some hold that Joel, who was the son of a priest, was himself both priest and The high priest was stoned at the command of Joash the king. "The spot where he fell was traditionally

shown in the sacred space between the great porch of the temple and the brazen altar. The act produced a profound impression" (Stanley). And the impression produced was no doubt wrought upon by the prophets. They pointed to the fact that such wickedness was not in the king alone. but in those who led him astray, and that an evil-minded aristocracy would have no power among the people unless they themselves permitted it by their neglect of the house of God, and their guilty departure from the theocratic ideal. Whether Joel exercised his ministry while Joash still lived, or in the more hopeful times of Amaziah, it is of little importance to determine. The popular mind was not deeply The warnings which Joel was the first to put into the form of embodied prophecy, began from that time to sound louder and louder. The people were not cured of their idolatrous tendencies by such punishments as the plague of locusts, and such awful events as the public murder of the high priest in the temple. They went on sinning-losing more and more their sense of a Divine vocation. The prophets spoke more and more fully and graciously in the name of the The two hundred years which intervened between the first of the warnings and the final outpouring of Divine wrath, were years of almost continued rebellion and apostasy. day of the Lord to which Joel pointed darkened into stormclouds, and at last burst in all its fury on the land.

R. A. REDFORD.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

THE Cunningham Lecture 1 is a charming book, written with unaffected ease and perfect lucidity, and therefore to be read with delight. Perhaps a magic pen belongs to the house of Candlish. Two specimens of Germanized English present a curious foil to the lecturer's own manner (pp. 49, 347). "The first step by which the contents of Scripture began to be separated from Dogmatic was an independent collection and exegetico-dogmatic discussion of the socalled dicta probantia which had hitherto been attached for support to the individual loci within Dogmatic itself." That is not Dr. Candlish. Nor this: "The family is the primary institution of God for killing, or rather choking in germ, the natural self-seeking of the human individual; the further and only completely sufficient is the moral commonwealth as that of national humanity." the lecturer for our pilot, we are in no danger of being engulfed in wordy whirlpools. From the origin of the family, to Oriental, Greek, and Roman institutions; from the Exodus to the return from exile and the post-canonical Jewish literature; from the proclamation of the kingdom by Christ to the imagery of the Apocalypse; from the Fathers to the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire to the Reformation of the Puritans, we sail down the seas of time, till we run into port at last, and exchange notes with the author of Ecce Homo and a number of other old friends. To accomplish so much requires capital literary art. Necessarily, the book, though amply learned, is sketchy. A great many objects can only be glanced at, which have been and will be closely studied, and the nature of some of which may be rather different from what our guide takes them to be. "The book of Ecclesiastes is the only book in Jewish literature in which anything like despair can be perceived; even here it is corrected and renounced at the close" (p. 88). The latter fact suggests and has received another explanation. That the book is strongly pessimistic in tone none can deny.—The question of the "second part of Isaiah" is not discussed; nor that of the fourth Gospel. And so of many others. The relation of Jesus to Pilate (p. 163) is delicate ground, if the criticisms of Keim and others are to be answered. However, the duration of a Cunningham Lectureship is not long

¹ The Kingdom of God. Professor Candlish, D.D. Cunningham Lectures, 1884, pp. 423. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

enough for the discussion of everything. The book is positively good, and ought to be thoroughly popular with the larger religious public.

READERS who are acquainted with Prebendary Row's writings' need not to be informed that he is a thinker of high character, distinguished by manly candour and earnest love of truth. His aim in the present work is to distinguish the substance of Catholic Christianity from the various and contradictory representations of it in the theologies. He takes his stand upon an enlarged conception of "Revelation," as including all knowledge of God. Of the records of Revelation, he rejects all post-Apostolic tradition. Of Old Testament teaching the imperfections are critically noted, and the conclusion is drawn that it does not throw light upon the Christian revelation, but conversely. So of the Messianic prophecies—"Christ throws light on them, not they on Him." The supernatural enlightenment of the apostles did not extend to the whole of their teachings, their arguments, nor their citations from the Old Testament. Dr. Row proceeds to the examination of the data in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles; and dwells upon the kingdom of God as the central idea of Christianity: "a great missionary and educational society attached to a personal Christ, not to a body of abstract dogmas." The discussions which follow more or less tend to illustrate the simplicity, tolerance, undogmatic and comprehensive character of apostolic Christianity. Those who delight so to think of their religion, and so to represent it to men, will surely find help and encouragement in so worthy a book as this. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that a method of selection is necessary to secure such results. Dr. Row is in fact a thorough eclectic in his treatment of the Scriptures and of their doctrines. Nor is his chosen ground safe from attack. Who knows what ground is safe in these days from the dynamitards of "criticism"? It may be important enough to distinguish between the "human" and the "divine" in the Bible. But who can possibly explain what he means by the predicate "divine" without referring to certain indefinable feelings awakened in the mind when the word is pronounced? Thus we inevitably travel back to the "subjective" and the "human." Dr. Row is not armed at all points; but even if disarmed, he is winning, and we have little disposition to point out in detail where he is too confident in assumption or too rash in state-

¹ Revelation and Modern Theology Contrasted; or, The Simplicity of the Apostolic Gospel Demonstrated. By Rev. C. A. Row, M.A. London: F. Norgate. 1883. Pp. xvi. and 498.

ment. But can the promise of the title-page be quite reconciled with such language as the following? "The fact of the incarnation being accepted on the testimony of our Lord, we now proceed to consider the nature of the knowledge of God which is imparted by it" (p. 337). "If, then, we accept the incarnation as a fact—and if it is not a fact, Christianity is untrue—the theory which affirms that because our moral ideas are finite, they do not represent corresponding realities in God, etc. . . . falls to the ground" (p. 352). "An incarnation becomes believable on the affirmation of the incarnate Being" (p. 363). This is hardly the "demonstrative" reasoning promised us. And how can Dr. Row term Christianity "undogmatic"?

Dr. Wright 1 aims to present the subject of the Hittites in an intelligible form to the ordinary reader, and to supply material to the scholar for further study. The book contains a complete set of Hittite inscriptions, and an Essay on Decipherment by Professor Sayce, and fairly answers the writer's purpose. "The attempt to reinstate the Hittite empire among the ancient monarchies of the world is a hazardous venture" (p. ix.). True. The Hittites appear for the first time in the inscriptions of Sargon I., king of Agané, circ. 1900 B.C. or 3800 B.C. (which date? p. 122). We should like to see that trifling discrepancy explained, or explained away. Then again the inscriptions of Hamah "can hardly be lower than 100 of the common era, but they may be as old as 600 before that era;" or-100 before our era,—or, the 3rd and 4th century A.D. (p. 130). English history 1066-1837 seems a longish period; but in Hittite chronicles such an interval does not count for much. Sayce is haunted by Hittites, "in their habit as they lived," particularly with the boots turned up at the toes. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind on this momentous Hittite question. We do not know whether to side with Dr. Wright or with Mr. Cheyne, who is guilty of an article on the subject in the Encyclopædia Britannica, also of having been Fellow of Balliol College, no less than Mr. F. W. Newman (pp. 88-89).

Sometimes we hear it said that the discoveries of science have lessened the wonder of the world; and that travel and exploration, making every nook of the earth more or less familiar to our thought, have robbed distant lands of much of that mysterious charm which

¹ The Empire of the Hittites. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. London: Nisbet & Co. 1884. Pp. 200.

once belonged to them. The interest of the vast world of the soul, however, can never be exhausted. There are always to be found phenomena to excite our faculty of marvel, and often to baffle our ability of explanation. Mr. Lang 1 truly remarks that one half the world knows not how the other half think. And perhaps the time of many of us would be better employed in travelling with an observant eye through foreign climates of fancy, in all their exuberance, than in attempting to discover anything new within our more native horizons. Mr. Lang is an independent worker in mythological study: we alluded last month to his article in the Encyclopædia Britannica. He is opposed to the "prevalent method of comparative mythology," who assumes that "myths are the result of a disease of language, as the pearl is the result of a disease of the oyster." curious thing is that such an odd explanation should ever have been put forward, or, having been put forward, should have been persisted in. "Mr. Müller," as he is called by Mr. Lang, habitually thinks of language as a person, to whose diseases, forgetfulnesses, crazes, mythology owes its rise. Now this is itself mythology; for few can believe with "Mr. Müller." that language is a weak or wicked person; and if mythology is a craze, the proposed explanation is "Men at some periods spoke in a singular style of coloured and concrete language, and their children retained the phrases of this language after losing hold of the original meaning" (p. 1). means: once men knew what poetry meant; their descendants went mad, and took old poetry for prose. There has been madness somewhere; but we are inclined to say to "Mr. Müller,"-De te fabula narratur. And then the "solar mythology," what is it but solar hallucination? The notion that "primitive men" could, by any known law of mind, report of the changes of the sky in allegories, violent and obscene; or if they could, that they would do anything All over the world, the people guard their folk-tales and superstitions most jealously from the stranger. What are these precious secrets? That it dawns when the sun rises, and that rain is wet!-according to our solar and meteorological friends. whole subject needs reconsideration. Mr. Lang, after much meddling with moly and mandragora, retains possession of his faculties; and we hope he will in future leave "Mr. Müller" to enjoy his peculiar opinions in peace, while he attempts his own reconstruction of facts which lie in the very root of human imagination.

¹ Custom and Myth. By ANDREW LANG, M.A. London: Longmans. 1884. Pp. 304.

Mr. Drummond's book 1 has secured 31,000 readers, or at least buyers. This shows at least that the religious public relishes the fare here provided. And who is the critic that he should, if he could, stand near Sancho's chair and whisk away by a wave of his rod the dishes on which Sancho has set his heart? We would rather learn what are the tastes of our dear religious public than force upon its notice our own. When we first glanced at this book, we saw that it was a mystical affair. Personally we do not approve of making "anything out of anything, and turning everything into something else." There is a relation between "Hebrews" and "Huxley," as between Macedon and Monmouth; but we prefer to distinguish. The Arch-Mole may have committed original sin for aught we know, and have involved his posterity in the doom of burrowing under ground and of impaired vision; if so, this would be a discovery of "spiritual law in the natural world." But has Moley no eyes? If, on the other hand, we suppose him to enjoy himself as well as another beast, and not to need better optics, "analogy" would teach that men who are spiritually blind are so because their "environments" are such that they don't want spiritual eyes. The arguments of the book may be made to cut in exactly the opposite way to the author's. But we think we see why Sancho likes his fare. A pencilled copy fell into our hands. Following the pencil marks, we found that the baldest commonplaces were to the reader evidently a feast of fat things. Page after page, he went browsing on through the pleasant pastures of platitude, marking the juicy spots for them that should follow. We see other reasons for the popularity of the book. Sancho is a quiet and good-natured fellow. He has heard so much of "conflict of science and religion," disputes about "natural" and "supernatural," faith and reason, and authority and the like, that it is pleasant to him to recognise these personages, for so they are made to appear, flitting about without jostling, rushing into each other's arms, finally melting away and leaving before him a mirror in which he sees his own honest visage reflected! There is no reason why this book should not be as familiar in men's mouths as the Proverbial Philosophy of Mr. M. Tupper.

WE mentioned only in a previous number the appearance of the late Th. Keim's last volume of his Life of Jesus 2 in an English trans-

¹ Natural Law in the Spiritual World. By Prof. DRUMMOND. Hodder & Stoughton.

² The History of Jesus of Nazara freely investigated. By Theodor Keim. Translated by A. Ransom. Vol. vi. Williams & Norgate, 1883. Pp. 437.

The contents are: The Arrest and Pseudo-Trial—the Death on the Cross—the Burial and Resurrection—the Ascension—the Messiah's Place in History. Apart from the question of the author's views, the book has a value from the ample knowledge of the modern literature of the subject. In Keim himself, a recluse thinker and an attached disciple of Spinoza, there is a strong contrast of the critical and the devotional mind. He equally dislikes the fanatics of extreme orthodoxy, and the "radical brawlers and enthusiasts" of the other wing. He resolves the narratives of the Resurrection into myths, yet believes in Jesus and the Resurrection with fervour, in some mystical sense. In an eloquent epilogue, he says: "If Spinoza acknowledged Jesus to be the Temple in which God most fully revealed Himself, we may exclaim still more joyously that Christianity is the crown of all the creations of God, and that Jesus is the Chosen of God, His Image, and Best-Beloved, and Master-Workman, and World-shaper in the history of mankind." The nova Creatura, the novissimus Adam, he says further, is the only tenable conception He is the appointed Standard-Bearer in every spiritual conflict; and He "will triumph over the quagmires and the spirits of darkness of the nether Kosmos."

The translator has contrived to make the book more readable than translations from the German usually are. Those who are reading Weiss's work should compare his references to Keim with Keim himself, who complains in his preface of the obscurity of the former writer. The peculiarity of Keim's views, as expressed in some earlier works, was briefly adverted to by Dr. Liddon, in his Notes to Bampton Lectures, 1866: "He heartily believes in the reality of Christ's own Resurrection from the dead. He cannot account for the phenomena of the Church if the Resurrection be denied. He seems to consider that the life of Jesus as a spiritual, moral, and in some respects supernatural fact, is unique; but an intellectual spectre, the 'laws of nature,' interpose to prevent him from drawing the otherwise inevitable inference. Yet for such as he is, let us hope much."

SIR A. LYALL's thoughtful and patient studies 1 should receive attention from all interested in India, its religious and social state, and in the missionary enterprise. Perhaps the most important thing in the book is the exposure of Mr. Max Müller's mistakes in his lecture in Westminster Abbey, where he "prematurely interred" Brahmanism (p. 116). It is shown to be a living and still widely-

¹ Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social. By Sir A. C. LYALL, K.C.B., C.I.E. London: John Murray. 1882. Pp. 306.

spreading religion; and it may be doubted whether it has to fear destruction at the hands of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or Christianity—the three "missionary religions" of the lecturer. Sir A. Lyall also opposes current theories on the origin of religion in nature-worship, himself adopting "Euemerism." He justly observes: "All the vitality and the concrete impressive figures in the front rank of an Asiatic religion appear to come direct out of humanity below, out of the earth, as the scene of the exploits, sufferings, and passions of mankind, which are above all things of absorbing interest to man." But he seems to do injustice to his own comprehensive views by labelling them after Euemerus, who was a shallow fellow. Lyall sees that worship is directed to spiritual beings, whether they be revealed in the changes of nature, or in the influence of the departed upon the living, or in that of living men themselves. Under our one word worship many different phases and moods of respect, reverence, adoration, service, may be and are included in Oriental religions. The distinctions of the Roman Catholic might remind us of the still greater subtlety of distinction required in studying religions where any possible object may be an object of some species of "worship." The Catholic indignantly repudiates the term Mariolatry; he does not render the Virgin latreia, but only donleia, he says. It is a pity the rage for isms is so prevalent. All the isms we know are to be found in India, and more. Sir A. Lyall writes with the modesty and the caution of a genuine lover of truth; and his book is a valuable one. Take the chapter on Clans and Castes and their Formation. The author shows how the state of society in midland districts of India, which have never undergone complete conquest, may be used to illustrate history, e.g. the Greek archaic times, or the Merovingian period. Two institutions "play a great part in all archaic societiesthe grouping of men by their folk and their faith, by kinship and worship." We venture to assert, from independent inquiry, that this is the only principle on which the rise of Greek polytheism can be explained. Sir A. Lyall demurs to the peremptory manner in which Grote denied the possibility of extracting history from the heroic legends; and here again we believe him to be quite in the right. Parallels in Israelitish tribal histories are also cited. The peculiar logic of myths and the grammar of their dialect has yet to be written. When these things are better understood, it will be found that much interesting history of substantial truth is to be discovered in tribal legends, the form being highly poetic and fictitious.

FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE third collection of Zeller's Addresses and Treatises 1 has appeared. It is a treat to handle this excellent paper, to cast one's eye over this clear typography. Nor does the book promise to the eye and mock the ear of the reader. Zeller (O si sic omnes Germani/) always writes, even upon difficult subjects, with excellent lucidity, and with perfect polish and taste. But it is needless to speak of a writer so well known. Only we could wish that our orthodox friends would not permit the devil to have all the good tunes to himself, as Rowland Hill used to say. There is no denying it, the heretics of the day are the stylists, whether in England, France, or Germany. This by the way. The essays in this volume cover the period 1878-The author compares them to separate blocks of buildingstone, which will be recognised by the attentive reader as parts of one structure. The subjects are :- The Doctrine of Aristotle on the Eternity of the World; the Greek Precursors of Darwin; a Heathen Apocalypse (translated in Nineteenth Century, April 1882); Scientific Instruction among the Greeks; Academic Teaching and Learning; the Importance of Language and Linguistic Instruction for the Spiritual Life; the Kantian Moral Principle, etc.; the Moral Law in its Conception and its Foundation in Reason; and the Reasons of our Belief in the Reality of the External World. The paper which has been translated is the shortest and slightest; the last in the volume the most elaborate and important, as we think. But we must denv ourselves the pleasure of presenting a précis of its contents. The book will be welcome to those who like clever handling, neat execution, gentleman-like form in writing, no less than solid substance in thinking.

The lst Part of the Theol. Studien u. Kritiken for 1885 contains a historical paper by Dr. K. Benrath on the Anabaptists in Venetia in the 16th century. An Anabaptist Council, consisting of delegates from churches in North Italy and Switzerland, met in 1550 at Venice. They numbered about 60. After forty days' discussion, the general agreement of the assembly was obtained to ten theological propositions. In these it was maintained that Christ was not God, but man, the son of Joseph and Mary, yet "full of all divine powers." Angels were defined as human servants and messengers of God. The

¹ Vorträge u. Abhandlungen. Von E. Zeller. 3d Sammlung. Leipzic. 1884.

only devil was prudentia humana, "fleshly wisdom." Only the elect, whose Head is Christ, will be raised at the last day; and there is no hell but the grave. The elect slumber from the day of death to that of judgment. The souls of the ungodly perish like beasts. By the righteousness of God is to be understood the height of His goodness and mercy; and by His eternal mercy and love the elect are justified, apart from external works. This information is derived from an ex-priest, Manelfi, who had convinced himself that the Roman Church was opposed to Holy Scripture, and a thing of human invention. In the course of about twenty years, this Arian movement appears to have been suppressed by persecution. Dr. Benrath must be thanked for having brought to light from the archives of the Holy Office facts so interesting and so pathetic.

"The Freedom of the Will and the Moral Responsibility of Man" is discussed by Pastor W. Meyer. He labours to show that the assumption of the freedom of the will as the foundation of moral responsibility must be abandoned, as involving us in insuperable difficulties. His own position is that moral responsibility, itself an unquestionable relation of our being, compels us to admit that sin itself is something utterly incomprehensible. The responsibility of the sinner is so bound up with the incomprehensibleness of the sin that the latter follows from the former. In other words, "to say that sin is an incomprehensible thing is to say that it is incomprehensible how man could possibly sin." Corollary: man is an incomprehensible being. The good pastor has discovered this. Is the paper an elaborate joke, or are we yet in the Middle Ages?

Koffmane contributes "Lutherana" from MSS. in the library of Breslau, illustrative of the Reformer's Letters and Table-Talk. The following, from an unknown hand, will interest our readers:—"In the year 1545, on his birthday, 22nd November, he said: I shall not outlive Easter. If I die in my bed, it will put the Papists to great shame. I hold that in a thousand years there has been no man in the world whom the world has hated like me; nor am I good to the world. I know nothing but death in life; I long for our Lord God to come and take me away."

Dr. Klostermann bestows high praise upon Dr. Wright's "Book of Koheleth" in general. His article is devoted to a discussion of some points in which Dr. W. "has not gone far enough, or has gone wrong." Klostermann differs entirely from Dr. W.'s opinion of the Greek translation of the LXX.; also in his view of the Epilogue, xii. 9-14. Here "the other Shepherd," whom Dr. K. finds in the Hebrew of ver. 11, stands in opposition to the pessimism of

Koheleth; and he has also scattered palliatives and antidotes throughout the book. The significance of the name Koheleth is discussed at length; and the conclusion arrived at, that the sage who composed these "collections" (ver. 11) personified wisdom, the "principle of collection," as a woman (vii. 23 ff.). It was the editor of the present book who mistook the name Koheleth for a proper name, and so used it in xii. 9, 10; and who, in order to identify the "Koheleth" of i. 2 with the "I" of the writer in i. 12, himself probably inserted at i. 1, the apposition, "Son of David, king of Jerusalem," and at i. 12 inserted the apposition "Koheleth."

Zeitschr. f. Wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1st Heft, 1885. Prof. A. Klöpper, of Königsberg, has an article on the representation given by Josephus of John the Baptist in Antt. xviii. 5. 2. gestive views are offered of the mutual relation of John and "The Mighter One:" the former the ascetic, and in the best sense pessimist, the latter the Herald of joy and peace; the former hinting of funerals (Matt. xi. 17; Luke vii. 32), the latter of weddings. "Their paths did not cross each other; the one did not thrust the other out of the way. But the rôle of the one was succeeded and supplemented by that of the other; so that the later scattered, upon ground turned up by a sharp ploughshare, the seed-corn of the message of gladness and peace." In Matt. xi. 12, "The kingdom of heaven is taken by storm," Klöpper thinks the fact is referred to by Jesus neither with unconditional approval nor blame. There must be the vehement striving after a better state of things, that His mission may be fruitful; at the same time, the tumultuary, passionate, fanatical zeal implied in the word ἀρπάζεσδαι, is not in harmony with His own gentle and long-suffering spirit.

Dr. H. Preiss, of Königsberg, discusses the book of Tobit. He refers its date to the 2nd century A.D. It represents the transition from didactic literature to free poetic invention; as a romance, pervaded by religious sentiment, it bears an affinity to the Greek novels. These flourished in the 2nd century, and began to decay with Jamblichus' "Love Story of Rhodane and Sinopis," about 170. The original was probably written in Greek. The folk-belief in the "thankful dead" who have been duly buried, and other matters, are illustrated from various sources in this useful article.

The editor, Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, communicates the late W. Vatke's general views on the literary constituents of the Pentateuch and Joshua.

The editor also discusses Bryennio's edition of the Διδαχή τῶν

δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, also that of Gebhardt and Harnack, which appeared last midsummer.

In connection with the last-named subjects may be mentioned the two articles in Nos. viii. and ix. of Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, on "Prophecy in the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Age," by Dr. Bonwetsch, of Dorpat.

Zeitschr. f. die alttestamentl. Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1884. Prof. R. Smend puts forward the following view of Isa. xxiv. 27:-A fearful catastrophe is at hand. Destruction is threatened to Judea, and revolution to the world in general, by a foreign host (vers. 1-13). The cause assigned is that the people have broken the everlasting covenant. This cannot be the Noachitic covenant (as Hitzig and Cheyne); for the predicate "everlasting" could not be applied to this, nor could the sin of the world (vers. 16 ff.) consist in trangression of its laws. The curse must be explained by reference to Deut. xxvii. 29, xxx. 7, and the land meant in vers. 1-12 is Judah. Who are meant in vers. 14 f. by those who praise Jehovah in His now revealed majesty? To what subject is to be referred? They must be explained with Ewald from ver. 16, as pointing to the fellow-believers of the writer in the Far West at the end of the earth. Their jubilations in the expected triumph of the Jewish cause had reached Palestine: but the writer (ver. 16) cannot share their hopes. He iterates menaces against his own people and the whole world (ver. 17). Judgment is apocalyptically depicted (vers. 18b, 19, 20), and the issue, the glorification of Jehovah on Zion.

The song, xxv. 1-5, presupposes another state of things, and might have been written at another time. But the song is intended to be sung at a future time (like xxv. 9, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 2), as ver. 6-8 show, where we are transported in thought to the end of the catastrophe. In ver. 8b we pass to another contrast, to fearful menaces against Moab, and triumph over her. Ver. 2 refers to Moab, not to Babel or Nineveh. The arguments of Ewald for Babel are combated.

After an analysis of chap. xxvi., Smend infers that if the prophecy belongs to the post-exilian period (Ewald), the writer must refer to the Israelites and Jews slain by the Assyrians and Chaldeans as the subjects of the raising from the dead. After a long and interesting discussion (the art. fills 64 pp.) of philological and historical evidence, Smend is unable to come to the conclusion that the invasion of Syria by Alexander the Great is

meant. He thinks that chap. xxiv.-xxvii. must be post-exilian, and fall between 500-300 B.C. The 4th century is more probable than the 5th. He concludes with the modest hope that others will be more penetrating and successful than himself in fixing more exactly the date.

We wonder whether Prof. Smend, amidst his learned perplexities, has heard of the view of Havet, who thinks he has proved that "the supposed antiquity of the prophets, who are placed in the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries, is a pure illusion, as was the antiquity of the Psalms; and that they were inspired by the struggles of the Jews against the kings of Syria in the 2nd century B.C., and by their glorious liberation under Simon and Hyrcanus!" (Pref. to Le Christianisme et ses Origines).

In the same periodical the editor, Dr. B. Stade, criticises Isaiah, capp. xxxii. xxxiii., with the view to show that they are foreign to Isaiah, and originated with the reproductive prophetic literature of the post-exilian time.

A similar view of Stade's respecting Micah, capp. iv. v., is discussed and combated by Nowack, to whose paper the former subjoins a friendly reply, maintaining his position.

Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte, Oct. 1884, contains a learned antiquarian article by Lic. C. Erbes on the Graves and Churches of Paul and Peter in Rome. In the year 258, in the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, the remains of Peter and Paul were placed together in the Catacomb on the Appian Way. So much is historic Before that time all is legend: it was said that at Peter's death holy men from Jerusalem were present, and that they disappeared with the body. In the second half of the 2nd century his grave was not shown, and could not be shown. By some happy accident, or in consequence of a "divine revelation," the bones were probably found in some spot in Rome. Such fables are common enough, and perfectly credible by the mass of Roman Catholics. They may be heard insisted upon in pulpits as perfectly "true," because there is no dispute among the "historians"! Paul rested in the Catacombs till 335, when the church of his name on the way to Ostia was begun; thither his remains were removed. Peter remained longer in the Catacombs. His basilica on the Vatican was not finished till about 355-359.

MIDDLE AGE STUDIES.

THE work of Prof. Meyer 1 is in three parts. The first treats of Superstition in the different departments of Nature and Life, the second of Magic and Witchcraft, and the third of the Supposed Interpenetration of the Spiritual and the Physical World, with the Connected Superstitions. The period treated extends from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the 17th and 18th centuries, or to our own time.

THE Abbé Uhlhorn, in the 2nd vol. of his work on Christian Benevolence, throws light upon the care of the poor sick pilgrims in the Middle Ages, as exercised by individuals, by spiritual and secular fraternities, orders, guilds, etc. He has a most comprehensive acquaintance with the sources, and depicts in attractive style an amiable aspect of the Middle Age life.

In a paper on the College of Cardinals, C. Wenk shows that the Papal power from 1250-1500 was subject to the like process of disintegration with the German Empire, the Cardinals looking upon themselves as the real depositaries of power, the Popes chosen by them as their plenipotentiaries.²

On the Church History of the 14th and 15th centuries more than one hundred publications which have appeared since 1875 are noticed by K. Müller in the same review.³ This article should be very useful as a bibliographical compilation to all engaged in the study of this period.

- ¹ Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters. K. MEYER. Basel. 1884. Pp. viii. 369.
 - ² Preussische Jahrbb. LIII. 5. P. 429.
 - ³ Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. Oct. 1884.

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SOME RECENT CHECKS AND REVERSES SUSTAINED BY MODERN UNBELIEF.

ONE would naturally expect that science in the hands of fallible men would sometimes make mistakes, and, as a rule, continue changing its position as knowledge grows from more to more. While the physical universe with which it has to do is a fixed quantity, the science which interprets the universe must, in the hands of finite men, for ever remain a variable quantity. Never until science and the universe correspond to each other like the two sides of an algebraic equation, will the point be reached at which science will be beyond the necessity for retreat or change. This seems reasonable, and indeed self-But there are many men belonging to the school of evident. modern unbelief, who do not see that the same thing ought to be admitted as likely to hold good in the sphere of theology. Its field, the Bible and the universe viewed as a revelation of God, is also a fixed quantity. But man the theologian, like man the scientist, is finite and fallible. It therefore follows that theology, like science, might be expected to make mistakes, and thus need to change its position, now to withdraw and now to advance, until it has become a more correct expression of objective truth. Surely it must be obvious to every reasonable mind that it can be no discredit to theology to do so, if it is no discredit to science.

Yet nothing is more common on the part of some unbelievers in our common Christianity than indulgence in sarcasm or derision at the expense of theology because of its many so-called retreats before the advance of science. We may find these retreats at times forming a favourite and telling theme with writers by no means of the baser sort, especially when they wish to produce a powerful rhetorical effect. As a specimen,

we may give the following from Dr. Draper: "The contest respecting the figure of the earth, and the location of heaven and hell, ended adversely to the ecclesiastic. He affirmed that the earth is an extended plane, and that the sky is a firmament, the floor of heaven, through which again and again persons have been seen to ascend. The globular form demonstrated beyond any possibility of contradiction by astronomical facts, and by the voyage of Magellan's ship, he then maintained that it is the central body of the universe, all others being in subordination to it, and it the grand object of God's Forced from this position, he next affirmed that it is motionless, the sun and the stars actually revolving, as they apparently do, around it. The invention of the telescope proved that here again he was in error. Then he maintained that all the motions of the solar system are regulated by providential intervention; the 'Principia' of Newton demonstrated that they are due to irresistible law." 1 And so on, through some more sentences of a similar kind. We find Professor Huxley at times launching out in the same strain, as in the following passage, which the reader will likely recognize: "Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed, if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain."2 it will be observed, the agony is piled up with telling effect, all to the glory of the scientific man, and to the utter discomfiture of the poor "ecclesiastic" and the "orthodox," as if they were the only sinners in the case.

But one may well wonder why it never occurs to shrewd men that, in regard to such points as those mentioned above, it was not so much theology that was wrong and ought to blush as the science of the day. These points are matters

² Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews, p. 305.

¹ Draper, History of the Conflict between Religion and Science, p. 360.

lying quite outside of the proper field of theology, and within that of science. It does not belong to theology to determine them, and it cannot determine them. It no more belongs to theology to determine them, than it belongs to physical science to determine questions in pure theology, or to mathematics to determine questions in psychology. Theology simply took up the common language of men in reference to such matters, the language of the science of the age, just because it was theology and not science. Accordingly, if theologians have had occasion to retreat from such positions as those referred to, whose blame is it? Certainly to a large extent the blame of science, that defective contemporary science which the sacred writers or the theologians of the past accepted. It is false science and not theology, certainly false science as much as theology, that we have to blame for those wrong views in regard to the figure and position of the earth, the nature of the firmament, the motion of the sun and stars, and the like. In regard to these matters, it is science rather than theology that has had to beat an ignominious retreat, and has reason to blush because it had not done its work better. It is indeed almost a kind of impertinence for science to blame theology solely for these mistakes, just as it would be an impertinence in the theologian to blame science because it had not discovered the nature of the Trinity. The fact is, theology in its proper sphere has had to retreat and change during the last fifteen hundred years much less than science. theology of the age of Augustine is more closely allied to that of the present day, than the science of that age is to the science of the nineteenth century. Accordingly such pointed tirades as those with which we sometimes meet ought to be levelled against science rather than theology. The guns are pointed in the wrong direction; for the original errors are clearly errors of science rather than theology.

One would almost suppose at times that it was only ignorant Christians and theologians who had been so narrow

and blinded as to oppose the discoveries of science in the past. No doubt many of them were narrow and blinded enough to do But what about the citizens of the scientific commonwealth themselves? Were they always ready to hail every new discovery in science, and defend it against the blinded theologian or the narrow Christian? On the contrary, some of the most decided opposition came from the scientific ranks The Copernican theory of the solar system met with the determined opposition of the astronomers of the age. Leibnitz and other distinguished contemporaries rejected and derided the theory of gravitation when propounded by Newton. When Harvey announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood, "all the physicians were against his opinion;" and very much the same thing happened to Jenner when he introduced vaccination. When Young propounded the undulatory theory of light, he "was hooted at as absurd by the popular scientific writers of the day." Christlieb reminds us that the French Academy "in former times rejected (1) the use of quinine, (2) vaccination, (3) lightning conductors, (4) the existence of meteorolites, (5) the steam engine." 1 And did not Goethe deny and ridicule Newton's theory of colours? And is it only theologians who refuse to accept the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution? Without doubt many theologians have been foolish enough to reject genuine scientific discoveries, but citizens of the commonwealth of science have been, to say the least, just as foolish. Is there not an old proverb that says, "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones"?

Let no one suppose that we imagine theologians to have always acted wisely in the past in regard to the discoveries of science. On the contrary, in much of their conduct we praise them not. There has been, and there still is in a lessening degree, a hard and narrow school who live in an hysterical dread of science, and who, if they do not hate it, look upon it with ill-disguised suspicion. The mode of procedure adopted

¹ Modern Doubt and Christian Belief, p. 324, note (Clark).

by this school, there is reason to believe, tells most injuriously against the Bible and religion, and gives no small impulse to scepticism. Instead of opening their eyes and looking out for the reasonable and true, the sound and safe position, they lay it down as a principle to make no surrender until they are They meet every new advance of science with compelled. unworthy disbelief and opposition, instead of that hearty recognition which the love of truth and a firm faith in God should inspire. They take up false positions, one after another, only to be compelled to abandon them one after And the consequence of all this is only too certain. In the mind of onlookers Christianity becomes associated with defeat and all that is untenable, until their faith in it is sadly shaken and disintegrated. There is too much reason to fear that the course of action just referred to awakens more sceptical doubts, and makes more sceptics, than all the science in the world.

Our more immediate object, however, in the present article, is to draw attention to some important points at which the unbelief of the age has received a substantial check, or has even been worsted and compelled to retreat. There are such points both in the sphere of science and in that of historical criticism. We shall find that, at certain important points, science calls a halt at present, greatly to the annoyance of blatant infidelity. We shall also find that, at not a few important points, historical criticism has not only administered to unbelief a substantial check, but has even succeeded in turning the tide, and still succeeds in keeping it decidedly flowing back.

When we take the case even of Herbert Spencer, who is spoken of by his sympathisers as "the apostle of the understanding," and "our great philosopher," we find in his latest atterances that a great deal more is admitted than perhaps some unbelievers like to see. We do not say that he has changed his religious ground, but only that he has stated anew, explicitly and succinctly, what all must feel to be logically implied in his position. The Unknowable, which

takes the place of God in his philosophy, is an object about which Mr. Spencer really knows a great deal, and which contains many of the attributes of Deity. This Unknowable—he prints this and similar words with an initial capital-he knows and declares to be Energy, Infinite, Eternal, the Ultimate Reality, the Ultimate Cause. It transcends phenomena, and "belief in its existence has, among our beliefs, the highest validity of any," and "an indestructible consciousness of it is the very basis of our intelligence." "Duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny personality" in regard to it. "choice is not between personality and something lower than personality," but "between personality and something higher;" for the "Ultimate Power is no more representable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representable in terms of a plant's functions." In other words, the Ultimate Power is not personal in the human sense, because it is as much higher than human personality as such personality is higher than vegetable life. Furthermore, it is in some sense true that by this "Infinite and Eternal Energy all things are created and sustained," and it "stands towards our general conception of things, in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by theology." In short, the Unknowable is the Ultimate Reality, higher than human personality, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in being, power, and activity, the First Cause, the Creator and Preserver of all When we further learn that there is in man a "religious consciousness" which "must continue to exist," we come extremely near possessing all those elements which form a logical basis for religion.1

Passing on, however, to our more special object, we proceed to mention two or three important points at which modern unbelief has received a substantial check at the hands of science.

When the development hypothesis obtained such an amount

¹ See especially the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1884, article on "Retrospective Religion."

of proof as to make it plausible, it was immediately taken up, and the trumpet was sounded to proclaim that creation could now be explained without a personal God, indeed that there was no such thing as creation in any form. Not only did unbelievers accept it as the explanation of the descent of one species from another after life had been originated, as Darwin held and taught; but, more Darwinian than Darwin, they held that it accounted for the very origin of life itself. Life, said they, is no new thing, but merely one of the forms of physical force, like motion, or heat, or light, or electricity. And just as physical force can pass freely into the form of motion, or heat, or electricity, so it can pass into the form of life. In short, life originated out of mere matter and physical force in the course of natural development by spontaneous generation, or what is called abiogenesis.

But what is the real teaching of science at present in regard to this matter? Certainly it is decidedly against the supposition that life springs into being out of dead matter and force by any process of spontaneous generation. All the facts of science, as distinguished from its fancies, clearly point to the conclusion that life springs only from life. If we ask what scientists of the highest authority, whom no one can reasonably imagine to be biassed by orthodox Christianity, have to say in regard to the matter, we shall find that their testimony Professor Huxley must be regarded as an is firm and clear. unexceptionable witness in the case, and here is his testimony: "Not only is the kind of evidence adduced in favour of abiogenesis logically insufficient to furnish proof of its occurrence, but it may be stated as a well-based induction, that the more careful the investigator, and the more complete his mastery over the endless practical difficulties which surround experimentation on this subject, the more certain are his experiments to Again he says, "The fact is, that at give a negative result." the present moment there is not a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence that abiogenesis does take place, or has taken place within the historic period during which the existence of life on the globe is recorded." 1

The name of Professor Tyndall stands, like that of Professor Huxley, in the front rank of trustworthy and successful scientific investigators, and he is no less explicit. It is true that when he is indulging in the "scientific use of the imagination," and "crosses the boundary of experimental evidence," he discovers in matter "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life." But when he confines himself to truth scientifically ascertained, he gives his testimony round and clear in favour of biogenesis as against abiogenesis, and no one has earned more worthily than he the right to speak with authority on this subject. He says: "In reply to your question [whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matterl, true men of science will frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life." 2 In another place he says: "I here affirm that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life." 8 And once more, he declares "that every attempt made in our day to generate life, independently of antecedent life, has utterly broken down." 4

We now pass from our own country to the Continent. As the representative of the highest science of France, we cite the testimony of Pasteur, whose name in regard to this department appropriately follows that of Tyndall. After long and minute experimentation in reference to spontaneous generation, he gives this as his assured conclusion: "There is no case known at the present day in which we can affirm that microscopic creatures have come into existence without germs, without

¹ Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 689; article on "Biology."

² Fragments of Science, vol. ii. p. 194, "Belfast Address."

³ Nineteenth Century, March 1878, p. 507.

⁴ Fragments of Science, Preface to the sixth edition, p. vi.

parents like themselves. Those who pretend that they do have been the dupes of illusions, of experiments badly performed, vitiated by mistakes which they have not been able to perceive, or which they have not known how to avoid." ¹

From France we pass to Germany. Professor Virchow of Berlin is a name worthy to be mentioned along with the preceding. He is not only an authority of the first class, but one who may also be safely regarded as free from all theologi-His declaration is most explicit: "This generatio aquiroca [by which he means spontaneous generation] which has been so often contested and so often contradicted, is nevertheless always meeting us afresh. To be sure, we know not a single positive fact to prove that a generatio aquivoca has ever been made, that inorganic masses,-such as the firm of Carbon & Co.,—have ever spontaneously developed themselves into organic masses. No one has ever seen a generatio aquivoca effected, and whoever supposes that it has occurred is contradicted by the naturalist, and not merely by the theologian. . . . We must acknowledge that it has not yet been proved." 2

Our space does not permit us to adduce more testinonies. Nor is it necessary; for the preceding are quite sufficient to show the exact state of the case in the estimation of scientific men of the very highest rank, who are at the same time quite free from all theological bias. The chasm between the inorganic and the organic, the lifeless and the living, is not yet bridged over. But what follows from this according to Strauss? He says: "So long as we regard the contrast between the inorganic and the organic, lifeless and living nature, as an absolute one, so long as we hold fast to the conception of a special vital power, it is impossible to get over the chasm without miracle."

¹ Rerue des Cours scientifiques, 23 Avril 1864, p. 265; article "Des Générations spontanées."

^{*} The Freedom of Science in the Modern State, pp. 36 ff., second edition.

³ Der alte und der neue Glaube, p. 174. In the original Strauss uses the past tense in the above quotation. Why? Because at the time he wrote, Bathybius was the popular catchword,—Bathybius which Professors Huxley and

Another most important point at which the hypothesis of merely natural evolution has received a check is in regard to the time requisite for the necessities of the case. It demands countless millions of years for its operation. But, according to our highest physicists, such countless millions of years cannot possibly be allowed. Professor Tait of Edinburgh, speaking in regard to this point, says: "The subject [how long the earth has been habitable for plants and animals] has been taken up very carefully within the last few years by Sir William Thomson. . . . He divides his argument upon The first is an argument from the it into three heads. internal heat of the earth; the second is from the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation; and the third is from the sun's temperature. . . . Each of these arguments is quite independent of the other two, and is-for all tend to something about the same—to the effect that ten millions of years is about the utmost that can be allowed, from the physical point of view, for all the changes that have taken place on the earth's surface since vegetable life of the lowest form was capable of existing here. . . . I daresay many of you are acquainted with the speculations of Lyell and others, especially of Darwin, who tell us that even for a comparatively brief portion of recent geological history three hundred millions of years will not suffice! . . . Physical considerations from various independent points of view render it utterly impossible that more than ten or fifteen millions of years can be granted." 1 Here we have the results at which Sir William Thomson has arrived, and in which both he and Professor Tait, two of our foremost mathematical physicists, concur.

Häckel regarded as offering a possible explanation of life. Desperate men will catch at straws, and so Strauss grasped at *Bathybius*; and thinking that the physical theory of life was now demonstrated, he wrote in the past tense. But we now know that the explanation of the origin of life by *Bathybius* is, to use a word which Strauss has made famous, a *myth*. Hence we feel warranted in translating in the present tense.

¹ Recent Advances in Physical Science, pp. 165 ff.

is true that Dr. Croll questions the exact trustworthiness of some of Sir William's calculations, but he himself says: "The general conclusion to which we are therefore led from physical considerations regarding the age of the sun's heat is, that the entire geological history of our globe must be comprised within less than one hundred millions of years." Darwin felt and acknowledged this "formidable objection," and apparently has no solution to offer except the supposition of "violent changes, causing a more rapid rate of development."

We might also draw attention with effect to the fact that infertility between distinct species still stands as a difficult barrier in the way of the hypothesis of mere natural evolution. Even after all the influence and care of man in producing different varieties, some of them very unlike the originals, he has never yet succeeded in producing from any of the higher species a new species which can stand the test of continued infertility in the attempt at inter-breeding with the original. Mr. Darwin does not profess that this has ever been attained in regard to any of the higher species; and Professor Huxley frankly says: "It is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in Nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural. . . . There is no positive evidence, at present, that any group of animals has, by variation and selective breeding, given rise to another group which was even in the least degree infertile with the first." And he speaks of this as the "'little rift within the lute,' which is not to be disguised or overlooked." 3

We pass on, however, to another point, closely connected with the above, at which modern unbelief has met with a decided check at the hands of science. We refer to the origin of man. It was fondly hoped by many, believed by

¹ Climate and Time, p. 355.

² Origin of Species, p. 286, sixth edition.

³ Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews, p. 323.

not a few, and even loudly proclaimed by some, that man was merely a natural and chance development out of the ape, or some other lower animal. There are not a few who hold that this is the true origin of man, and that to speak of him as being in any true sense created by God, or in the image of There is no divine or immortal spirit in God, is a delusion. him; he is merely an animal of the higher and luckier kind, only of the earth, earthy. Of course they have not found out the "missing link," bridging over the chasm between man and the ape; but they have always been ready to proclaim, on each new discovery of a human skull, that here was the necessary link, the immediate progenitor of man. body who found a skull in a cave, or a bone in the fissure of a rock, thought he had got a bit of him." Professor Häckel has actually gone so far as to fill up the yawning gap out of his imagination, and even to give the imaginary creature a name, and the name is Alalus!

There are two capital facts from which this view of the descent of man has received a check. One is the fact of the vast distance between the brain of man and that of the nearest It is acknowledged that natural evolution proceeds only by infinitesimal variations. Mr. Darwin himself says: "Natural selection can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow steps." 1 Now, speaking in a general way, the brain-mass of man is about three times that of the highest anthropoid ape. To quote from Mr. A. R. Wallace: "The collections of Dr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Morton give the following as the average internal capacity of the cranium in the chief races: Teutonic family, 94 cubic inches; Esquimaux, 91 cubic inches; Negroes, 85 cubic inches; Australians and Tasmanians, 82 cubic inches; Bushmen, 77 cubic inches. . . . The adult male orang-outang is quite as bulky as a small-sized man, while the gorilla is considerably above the average size of man, as estimated by bulk

¹ Origin of Species, p. 156.

and weight; yet the former has a brain of only 28 cubic inches; the latter, one of 30, or, in the largest specimens yet known, of $34\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches. We have seen that the average cranial capacity of the lowest savages is probably not less than five-sixths of that of the highest civilised races, while the brain of the anthropoid apes scarcely amounts to one-third that of man, in both cases taking the average; or the proportions may be more clearly represented by the following figures: anthropoid apes, 10; savages, 26; civilised man, 32." Where, then, is the possibility of this great chasm being leaped over by that law of natural selection which "can never take a leap"? It is brought to a direct halt by the impassable chasm, as the mountain-climber at times finds his course over the glacier suddenly arrested by some tremendous crevasse.

But when the climber comes upon an impassable chasm he can occasionally find a way over it by walking far enough along the side. May it not be the same here? Scientific men answer as yet with an emphatic No; and this is the second capital fact to which we referred. On the one side we have the human race, and on the other side the anthropoid apes, and between them a chasm deep and wide, which no mere evolution can leap over. But when we travel along the human side of this chasm, away into the dim ages of the past, we nowhere find a bridge, scarcely even an approach of the two opposite sides. The chasm remains substantially the same, equally deep and wide, and equally mysterious and impassable all the way along. In other words, when we travel back to the remotest ages, we find that man was then possessed of the same brain-mass as at present, and there is no real indication of approximation to the ape. Between the two there still remains the same great gulf fixed. On this point Mr. Wallace is also very explicit. "The few remains vet known of pre-historic man do not indicate any material

¹ Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection, p. 338, second edition.

diminution in the size of the brain-case. A Swiss skull of the stone age, found in the lake dwelling of Meilen, corresponded exactly to that of a Swiss youth of the present day. The celebrated Neanderthal skull had a larger circumference than the average; and its capacity indicating actual mass of brain, is estimated to have been not less than 75 cubic inches, or nearly the average of existing Australian crania. Engis skull, perhaps the oldest known, and which, according to Sir John Lubbock, 'there seems no doubt was really contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear,' is yet, according to Professor Huxley, 'a fair average skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage.' Of the cave men of Les Evzies, who were undoubtedly contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France, Professor Paul Broca says: 'The great capacity of the brain, the development of the frontal region, the fine elliptical form of the anterior part of the profile of the skull, are incontestable characteristics of superiority, such as we are accustomed to meet with in civilised races."1

Professor Virchow is no less explicit. He says: "When we study the fossil man of the quaternary period, who must, of course, have stood comparatively near to our primitive ancestors in the order of descent, or rather ascent, we find always a man, just such men as are now. . . . The old troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people prove to be quite a respectable society. They have heads so large that many a living person would only be too happy to possess such. . . . Nay, if we gather together the whole sum of the fossil men hitherto known, and put them parallel with those of the present time, we can decidedly pronounce that there are among living men a much larger number of individuals who show a relatively inferior type than there are among the fossils known up to this time. . . . Every addition to the amount of objects which we have attained as materials for

¹ Wallace, Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection, pp. 336 f.

discussion, has removed us further from the hypothesis propounded." We may add the following from Professor Du Bois-Reymond, also of Berlin University: "At a certain period of the development of life on the globe, an epoch of which we do not know the date, there arose a thing new and hitherto unheard of, a thing incomprehensible as the essence of matter and force. The thread of our intelligence of nature, which mounts up to that infinitely distant time, is broken, and we find ourselves face to face with an impassable abyss. That new and incomprehensible phenomenon is thought." The outcome of all this obviously is, that, so far as matters go at present, natural evolution is brought to a complete halt at the edge of the impassable gulf which stretches along between man and the ape all the way throughout the ages.

We close this department of our subject with briefly mentioning one other point where science administers a check to the grosser infidelity. We refer to the materialistic explanation of consciousness and thought. It may be granted that thought and feeling are accompanied with molecular action in the brain, but we cannot write the two things over against each other as equivalents. The highest scientific authorities are quite clear and emphatic that the two things are utterly incommensurable, and that there is no conceivable translation from the one into the other. In other words, the purely materialistic explanation of thought is as utterly unthinkable "The passage," says Professor Tyndall, "from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness, is inconceivable as a result of mechanics." Even were our minds and senses vastly "expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, the chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable." "In reality [the molecular groupings and motions] explain nothing. utmost [the materialist] can affirm is the association of two

¹ The Freedom of Science in the Modern State, p. 63.

² La Revue scientifique, 10 Octobre 1874, p. 341.

classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance. The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble, in its modern form, as it was in the pre-scientific ages." 1 Du Bois-Reymond is equally plain. We might refer to the quotation given in the preceding paragraph; but we may be allowed to add the following: "What conceivable connection subsists between definite movements of definite atoms in my brain on the one hand, and on the other hand such primordial, indefinable, undeniable facts as these: 'I feel pain or pleasure; I experience a sweet taste, or smell a rose, or hear an organ, or see something red'? . . . It is absolutely and for ever inconceivable that a number of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen atoms should be otherwise than indifferent as to their own position and motion, past, present, or future. It is utterly inconceivable how consciousness should result from their joint action." Elsewhere he says most emphatically, "that not only in the present state of our knowledge is thought not explicable by means of its material conditions, but from the nature of things it will never be."3

We now pass from the realm of science to that of historical criticism. In what follows we restrict our investigation entirely to the New Testament. And here we shall find that the advance of unbelief has not merely received a check, but has suffered a reverse, and been compelled to beat a retreat along almost the whole line.

It is generally and confidently acknowledged by the highest authorities of the school of modern critical unbelief, that there are certain books in the New Testament which are unquestionably genuine. Such men as Baur and Strauss, Renan and the author of Supernatural Religion, for example, agree in accepting Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians,

¹ Fragments of Science, vol. ii. pp. 87 f.

Quoted in Tyndall's Fragments of Science, vol. ii. pp. 228 f.
 La Revue scientifique, 10 Octobre 1874, p. 341.

and the Apocalypse as books incontestably genuine and authentic. That is, these representative leaders of modern learned unbelief agree with catholic Christians in holding fast by the unquestionable genuineness of about *one-fourth* of the New Testament, and that, a fourth containing over and over again all the essential facts and doctrines of the gospel. In regard to the remaining books of the New Testament, the position originally taken up by Baur and his more immediate followers was, that they were composed far on in the second century, and mainly between A.D. 130 and 170.

It is a well-known fact that of late years many previously unknown manuscripts of valuable ancient books have been discovered throughout the libraries and convents of the south and east. It is most important and strengthening to our faith to know that these discoveries tend decidedly to confirm the catholic view in regard to the date of the New Testament books, namely, that they were all written within the apostolic age. We now proceed to adduce a few cases which will serve as illustrations of this statement.

We begin with the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, which was written about A.D. 120. Until 1859 it was known only in an imperfect form, the first four and a half chapters being extant in Latin but not in the original Greek. At the close of the fourth chapter it contains these words, "as it is written, Many are called, few chosen." The expression here quoted is found nowhere in ancient sacred literature except Matt. xxii. 14. Hence the conclusion was naturally drawn that this was a quotation from Matthew, and that the quotation was made as if it was acknowledged Scripture. But the unbelieving school, in effect, replied, "No. This is only the Latin translation. The quotation was very likely inserted by the translator, who was some biassed Christian. If we only had the original Greek, we should find that it is not there."

¹ It is also found, of course, in the T. R. in Matt. xx. 16; but there it is probably not genuine.

Well, two original Greek copies have now been discovered, one by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai in 1859, and another more lately at Constantinople by Bryennios, now Metropolitan of And what is the result? Nicomedia. The old Latin version is absolutely correct: for the quotation is found in the original Greek almost exactly as in Matthew. The conclusion from this is obvious; the Gospel of Matthew was already written and apparently acknowledged as Scripture. It is noteworthy that the author of Supernatural Religion still endeavours to wriggle out of the iron grasp of the necessary inference. which must fill many readers with amazement, if not with something worse, he still struggles to show that it is not a quotation from Matthew at all, but from 2 (4) Esdras viii. 3: "There be many created, but few shall be saved." Surely comment is unnecessary. The discovery of the Greek copies of Barnabas settles the question on the side of the catholic view, as even Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, most cordially admits.1

In the year 1842 there was discovered at Mount Athos a copy of the long lost work of Hippolytus, The Refutation of all Heresies. The author lived at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. This discovery has proved one of the first importance for various reasons, and very especially for the references or quotations therein given from the works or teaching of the ancient heretics. Now it is well known that Baur regarded the Gospel of John as written about A.D. 160-170. But what do we learn from Hippolytus? He deals at length with the heresy of Basilides, who flourished about A.D. 125, and he tells us that this heresiarch fell back on the Gospels, specially including John, for support to his views. He thus writes: "And this, he

¹ Hilgenfeld holds that Barnabas was written in A.D. 97, and that the reference proves, "dass ein Evangelium, sei es nun das des Matthäus selbst oder ein demselben verwandtes, schon gottesdienstlich gebraucht, als heilige Schrift angesehen ward." Einleitung in das Neue Testament, p. 38.

[Basilides] says, is that which has been stated in the Gospels; 'He was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'"

This quotation is unquestionably from John i. 9, and it is scarcely less unquestionable that, according to the laws of Greek grammar, Hippolytus puts the quotation into the mouth of Basilides, and even seems to quote from a book of his which he has in his eye. In other words, John was not written after A.D. 160, as Baur holds, but before the time of Basilides, that is, before A.D. 125. It may be noticed also that Basilides refers in the above quotation to "the Gospels," and uses them as being of acknowledged authority.

The so-called Clementine Homilies played a most important part in the hands of Baur and his immediate followers, in the contest as to the dates of the New Testament books. Down to 1853, it will be remembered, these Homilies existed only in an imperfect copy which stopped short in the middle of Homily xix. ch. 14; eleven chapters and a half of Homily xix. and the whole of Homily xx. being lost. The date of their composition is assigned to the middle of the second century, or a little later, say, about A.D. 160.

We restrict our attention at present solely to the bearing of the Homilies on the Gospel of John. Baur contended that they contained no proof of the existence of the fourth Gospel at the date of their composition. It is true that even in the imperfect edition we have quotations or reminiscences from John, which seem unmistakable to the ordinary reader, and which, if they occurred in any modern author, would be unhesitatingly referred to the fourth Gospel. We read in Homily iii. ch. 52 these words: "Wherefore He [Christ], being the true prophet, said, I am the gate of life; he who entereth through Me entereth into life," a passage which can scarcely fail to recall John x. 9, "I am the door; by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." In the same

¹ Refutation of all Heresies, Book vii. 22. For English see Clark's Translation, vol. i. p. 276; and for Greek, Charteris, Canonicity, p. 173.

chapter of Homily iii. we further read: "Wherefore also He cried and said, . . . My sheep hear My voice,"-an expression which seems obviously quoted from John x. 27, "My sheep hear My voice." What makes it still more likely that these quotations are taken from John is the fact that they are both found in the same chapter of the Homilies, and correspond to passages in the same chapter of the fourth Gospel, a circumstance most naturally accounted for by the theory of actual quotation. Once more, the old and imperfect edition of the Homilies contains in Homily xi. ch. 26, the statement, "For thus the Prophet has sworn to us, saying, Verily I say to you, unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,"—a passage which naturally appears to contain a free but undoubted reference to John iii. 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Such were the references to John in the older edition of the Homilies, and yet Baur and his followers. like the author of Supernatural Religion, could hold that they contained no proof of the existence of that Gospel, and therefore it did not exist, or just came into existence, at the time when the Homilies were written. Consequently John could not have been written before A.D. 160, the approximate date of the Homilies.

But we now have the Clementine Homilies entire in Greek. In the year 1853, Dressel published a complete edition from a manuscript which he had found in the Ottobonian library in the Vatican. Now it so happens that the new and concluding fragment contains testimony of the utmost importance. For one thing, it settles that the author of the Homilies knew and used Mark, which had been doubtful up to that date. But it also settles to all reasonable minds the fact of the previous existence and the use of John. In the portion discovered by Dressel we have the following passage in Homily xix. ch. 22, "Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of Him in regard to the man who was blind from

his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing sins of ignorance." 1 This passage is obviously a free but real quotation from John ix. 1-3: "And as Jesus passed by, He saw a man which was blind from his birth. And His disciples asked Him, saving. Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." So obvious is the quotation that the controversy may now be regarded as settled in the estimation of reasonable men. Hilgenfeld, the present head of the dying Tübingen school, at once acknowledged the question as finally closed.2 "Volkmar admitted and admits that the fact of the use of the Gospel must be considered as proved. The author of Supernatural Religion stands alone in still resisting this conviction, but the result, I suspect, will be only to show in stronger relief the onesidedness of his critical method." 3

We now come to another interesting and most important point. It is well known that Tatian, the Assyrian, who flourished about A.D. 150-170, and of whom we possess one work, his Address to the Greeks, was the author of another work called the *Diatessaron*. The testimony of antiquity is so uniform and distinct, that thus far there never could be any reasonable doubt. This Diatessaron, as the name naturally implies, is declared by ancient writers to have been a Harmony of the four Gospels. The importance attached to this fact by catholic scholars and critics on the one hand, and by Baur and his school on the other, was naturally very

¹ For the Greek of the quotations from the Homilies, see Charteris, Canonicity, pp. 184 f.; or Sanday, The Gospels in the Second Century, pp. 287 ff. The English given above is from Clark's Translation.

² Einleitung, p. 48 f., note.

³ Sanday, The Gospels in the Second Century, p. 288.

If, as catholic critics generally held, it was a veritable Harmony, it was a clear proof that at the time when it was constructed, and of course long previously, four Gospels were regarded as occupying a position quite distinct, approaching to what we call canonical. Further, critics of this class naturally considered that these Gospels must have been the present four. But if so, then John must have been received in the time of Tatian as genuine, so that it could not possibly have seen the light only so late as A.D. 160, or even later, as Baur's school maintained. It was therefore of the utmost importance for this school to undermine the argument of the catholic critics by showing that the Diatessaron was no Harmony whatever of the four canonical Gospels. The English reader may see how this is attempted by the author of Supernatural Religion in his second volume (pp. 152 ff.). makes statements like the following: "There is no authority for saying that Tatian's Gospel was a Harmony of four Gospels at all." "No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, for the very good reason that there was no such work." And again, "It is obvious that there is no evidence whatever connecting Tatian's Gospel with those in our canon." 1

The question, however, seems of late to have been finally settled to the utter discomfiture of the school of Baur, and the complete demonstration of the perfect correctness of the traditional view. According to the testimony of antiquity, Ephraim, the Syrian, wrote a commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. This commentary was regarded as hopelessly lost until lately, when an Armenian translation of it was found in the library of the Mechitarist monks, in the island of S. Lazzaro at Venice. This translation was published in Latin in 1876 by Professor Mösinger of Salzburg.² Now,

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 158, 160, 161.

² The title is: "Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephraemo, in Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher, Mechitarista, cujus versionem emendavit, unnotationibus illustravit et edidit G. Moesinger, Venetiis," etc., 1876.

Professor Zahn of Erlangen has lately subjected this ancient commentary to a most thoroughgoing criticism and treatment, and that with the most interesting and astonishing results. It turns out actually to be Ephraim's Commentary on Tatian's We therefore now know exactly what was the nature of Tatian's famous work. And what is the result? It is found to be a consecutive gospel narrative constructed out of a blending of our four canonical Gospels on a somewhat free principle. And Tatian uses John the most extensively of all the Gospels, and adopts the chronology of that Gospel as the framework of his Harmony. "It may be observed that a difference is so far made between the Evangelists that the text of St. John is almost completely adopted, perhaps with the sole exception of chapter iv. 46-54; next in completeness comes that of St. Matthew, while St. Luke and St. Mark are much more incompletely represented." 1 The meaning of all The Tübingen school, in their blind and this is obvious. desperate attempt to maintain the late origin of all the Gospels, and especially of John, have suffered themselves again to be misled. In the words of Professor Wace: "There is no longer any doubt that all four Gospels existed in full, and substantially as we now have them, in the time of Tatian, and therefore of Justin Martyr;" for, as the author of Supernatural Religion expressly acknowledges, "Tatian simply made use of the same Gospel as his master, Justin Martyr," 2 who died probably in A.D. 148.

One other point remains on which we wish to say a few words. It is the issue of the controversy in regard to *Marcion's Gospel*. This heretic was a native of Pontus, but lived and flourished at Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, that is, about A.D. 140. He used a Gospel which, according to the consent of antiquity, and especially of Irenæus, Tertullian, and

¹ Article by Professor Wace, Expositor, Oct. 1882, p. 301. Cf. Charteris, Croall Lectures for 1882, pp. 177 ff.

² Vol. ii. p. 159.

Epiphanius, was a mutilated Luke. There was no substantial reason for doubting this statement. But if it was true, then it was plain that Luke must have been written a considerable time before A.D. 140. This could not be admitted by Baur and his immediate followers, whose hypothesis required them to hold the late origin of that Gospel. What was then to be done? Of course, Marcion's Gospel must be held and proved to be the earlier and the original Gospel, of which that of Luke was only a later enlargement.¹

In Germany, the rectification of this grievous error came in its final stage, to its honour be it said, from within Baur's Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, two distinguished own school. members of the school, were not only led by their own study to renounce the view of Baur and return to the traditional view, but by their thorough investigation as nearly proved as such a thing could be proved, that the ancient view was right, and that Luke was the original, from which Marcion had derived his Gospel by mutilation. So effectual was the demonstration, that Ritschl was convinced, and even Baur withdrew from his original position. The question may now be regarded as finally settled in Germany in favour of the priority and originality of the Gospel of Luke.2 The statement of the Fathers is proved to be substantially correct, and Marcion's Gospel turns out to be a mutilation of Luke.

But the matter was not so speedily brought to a conclusion in England. The author of Supernatural Religion, as might have been anticipated, still held out. He could even write: "The statement of the Fathers that Marcion's Gospel was no original work, but a mutilated version of Luke, is unsupported by a single historical or critical argument;" and again, "If we except the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Marcion's Gospel

¹ See Baur, Kritische Untersuchungen, pp. 397-427.

³ "Es genügt zu bemerken, dass das Vorhandensein des Lucas vor Marcion von Volkmar, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, und Zeller, nachgewiesen wurde." Holtzmann, Die syn. Evangelien, p. 403.

is the oldest evangelical work of which we hear anything, and it ranks far above the third Synoptic in that respect."1 Dr. Sanday in his well-known volume, The Gospels in the Second Century, entered once more into an elaborate investigation of the question, and succeeded in practically demonstrating the priority and originality of Luke. So convincing is his argument that he has had the unlooked-for satisfaction of seeing even the author of Supernatural Religion, after the example of abler and wiser men, withdrawing from his wild position, and finally admitting that Luke and not Marcion's mutilation is the true original. He now acknowledges that Dr. Sanday's "able examination of Marcion's Gospel has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable. . . . and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion." He says that Dr. Sanday's argument must "prove irresistible to all" critics, and that "it is not possible reasonably to maintain" his previous view.2 After such an admission coming from such a quarter, we may safely say with Professor Salmon of Dublin, "The theory that Marcion's form [of the Gospel] is the original, may be said to be now completely exploded."

In the preceding pages we have dwelt on individual points by way of illustration; it now remains for us to give an indication of the general current of the tide of opinion in the critical world. Even in the negative critical world, in the very school of Baur himself, the current of opinion in regard to the dates of the leading books of the New Testament, has begun distinctly to flow back. A brief general statement will be sufficient to make this luminous. Baur regarded Matthew as written after A.D. 130; Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, holds it to have been written immediately $(\epsilon i \theta \dot{\epsilon} \omega s)$ after the destruction of Jerusalem, say, about A.D. 70; while Renan regards it as written about A.D. 84. Baur

² Supernatural Religion, complete edition (1879), vol. ii. pp. 138 f.

¹ Supernatural Religion, vol. ii. pp. 138 f., 4th edition. The italics are ours.

originally regarded Luke and Mark as written about A.D. 150 or later; but both Hilgenfeld and Renan agree in placing their date more or less decidedly within the first century, and therefore within the apostolic age. The case with John is very Baur regarded it as written about A.D. 160 or instructive. even 170; Hilgenfeld assigns it to A.D. 130-140; while Renan, after a good deal of vacillation, holds at present to about A.D. 125. Baur held Acts to be written about the middle of the second century; Hilgenfeld regards it as written after the close of the first century, but maintains that the portions narrated in the first person were the genuine work of Luke; while Renan assigns it to the first century. regarded Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians, as the only genuine Pauline Epistles; but in addition to these, Hilgenfeld accepts also First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon; while Renan, also in addition, accepts First and Second Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, and although he regards Ephesians as doubtful, yet he says that "in any case it belongs to the apostolic age." Baur relegated all, or almost all, the remaining books of the New Testament, except the Revelation of John, to the second century; besides those specified above, Hilgenfeld assigns to the first century Hebrews (c. A.D. 66) and James (A.D. 81-96); while Renan assigns to the same century, Ephesians, Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter. To sum up in a general way, we have this approximate result. According to Baur, we have only about one-fourth of the New Testament belonging to the first century; according to Hilgenfeld, we have nearly three-fourths, and according to Renan, decidedly more than three-fourths, falling within the first century, and therefore within the limits of the apostolic age. This surely indicates a very decided and significant retreat.1

¹ It may be interesting and helpful to clearness to fix our attention more particularly on the four Gospels. The following table gives the approximate dates according to different critics, and speaks for itself:—

Such are a few of the checks or even reverses sustained of late years by the critics of the extreme negative school, and such is their substantial retreat. The general result of the whole is most significant and confirmatory of the catholic belief in regard to the age of the leading books of the New And let it be noted that the strength of the argument is to be seen not so much in the points separately as in the general drift of the whole. Every new discovery has not only fallen in harmoniously with the view commonly held in the Church, but has distinctly tended to confirm it, while in some cases it has been dead against the extreme Moreover, the distinct and general school of unbelief. tendency of the leading authorities on the side of negative criticism, has been to move the date of the chief New Testament books back nearer and nearer to the apostolic age, until at last, instead of only one-fourth, they agree that about three-fourths of the New Testament were actually written before the death of the apostle John.

When the age of historical criticism came, it was impossible that the books of the New Testament could escape the fire. They had of necessity to pass through the ordeal just like other ancient books, and it will be found in the long run that

	Baur.	Volkmar.	Hilgenfeld.	Keim.	Renan.	Schenkel.	Holtzmann.	Weiss.	Meyer.
Matt., Mark, Luke, John,	130+ 150+ c. 150 160+		70+ 81+ c. 100 130+	66 100 90 130		70 58 80 120	c. 67 c. 68 70+	69	60-70 60-70 70-80 80
	600	483	396	386	379	328		314	285

The above table may be accepted as approximately correct. We have added up the different columns (making allowances), in order that the eye may see the general results more distinctly. They are very significant. The sum under Baur is 600, and by comparing with this the sum under the other authors respectively, we see the aggregate retreat in regard to time in each case. We append Meyer as a specimen of the liberal but positive critic, only for comparison in der Tübinger Schule eine allgemeine Rückbewegung, bis zuletzt Hilgenfeld die evangelische Literatur in einer Zeit zum Abschluss bringt, wo sie nach Baur erst angefangen hätte." Holtzmann, Die synoptischen Evangelien, p. 403.

it was well for the Church that it was so. We have reason to believe that the battle of the dates is drawing near its close, with the victory obviously inclining to the side of the catholic view, namely, that the Christian Scriptures belong to the apostolic age. When the battle has once been fought out, and our sacred books have been proved and acknowledged even by negative critics themselves to fall within the first century, we may reasonably hope that a day will dawn of firmer faith than ever in these books. After they have stood the fire of such criticism as no ancient books have ever undergone, and the unwilling testimony of enemies is found substantially to coincide with that of friends, surely all future ages may regard them as practically unassailable. The battle had to be fought out; but the end is now in view, and fought out once, it is fought out for ever.

One of the most brilliant of our scientific writers draws a vivid picture of the "fear and powerless anger" with which he supposes some Christians contemplate the advance of the "realm of matter and of law," that is, of physical science. As drawn by him, the picture is a sad one. But one sadder still sometimes presents itself on the side of unbelief. is a man who was cradled in the Christian faith, and brought up in a reverent belief in the New Testament. But when he grew up to manhood, he came into contact with the advanced criticism, let us say, of Baur and his school. It was to him something quite new and startling. He was completely carried away by the originality of the principle which underlies the criticism, by the power, learning, and ingenuity with which the great master of the school supported it, and he ended in cordially accepting the position of extreme negation. In his own eyes he now became a free man, standing on the lofty rock of unassailable criticism, in the high, clear air, far above the ignorant and superstitious multitude, who grope in the twilight of the valley below. He has continued on in this course for years; he has perhaps proclaimed his views

from the platform and the press; he has committed himself hand and foot to his position, and has become hardened in it. He is now "habit and repute" a member of the most enlightened school of infallible criticism; a well-known antagonist of superstitious supernaturalism, and, it may be, a prophet of the speedy downfall of Christianity. generation glides away, a younger race of critics arise. grow up accustomed to the negative criticism, and are not so easily bewildered and misled by the glamour of its novelty and ingenuity. They examine things more calmly, and in a healthier spirit; they almost unanimously give up the extreme negative position as utterly untenable, and retreat towards the catholic position. But what of our older friend? He has renounced his original faith, he has committed himself to his unbelief, and now it appears that he has been all wrong from the first! He has declared himself too publicly and too dogmatically, and it is too late for him to change. He is left high and dry by the receding tide, to maunder over his old arguments and objections, while the generation around looks on with pity or a smile. Doomed to see the conclusions of his infallible criticism rejected even by its friends, condemned to live to see the sacrifice of his faith in the New Testament proved to be a huge blunder and mistake, too proud, too crystallized, and too old to change, surely such a man presents to us one of the very saddest of spectacles; and, unhappily, it is one which is not altogether a mere picture of the imagination.

ALEX. MAIR.

THE CONTINUITY OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

MATT. V.-VII.

In reading the Sermon on the Mount, our experience is somewhat analogous to that of the man who surveys the field claimed by the doctrine of evolution. We find certain statements which are rigidly and logically connected, and which seem to promise an unbroken chain of argument, suddenly interrupted by impassable leaps and paroxysms which appear to usher us into the presence of phenomena altogether new. The question arises, Are they altogether new? Is the Sermon on the Mount really one connected discourse, or is it only a series of fragmentary discourses joined together without connection? Can there be traced from beginning to end any one thread of sequence which gives the reader a right to say that he is perusing a single composition? Is there any possibility of filling up the apparent lacunæ which constitute the leaps and paroxysms? Can we, in short, so throw ourselves back into the life and circumstances of Him who delivered this discourse, as to find a connection under the surface for those trains of thought which appear on the surface to be disconnected? the question to which we here propose to attempt an answer.

It seems to us, indeed, that the Sermon on the Mount as we now possess it, is not, logically speaking, a series of fragments. We believe that it is quite possible to trace a distinct link of connection between every separate verse of these three chapters. We do not say that the Sermon was necessarily delivered in its present form; it is perfectly

conceivable that the evangelist may have brought together utterances of the Master, which originally were spoken at widely different times. But even in this case the evangelist himself must have had a reason for bringing together such vastly distant materials, and that reason could have been no other than a real or imaginary affinity between them. We believe that we can trace this affinity, and we believe it to be not imaginary but real. We think we can detect the threads of sequence which, either in the mind of the Master or in the reproductive thought of the evangelist, dictated this special combination of materials, and we shall endeavour as briefly and clearly as we can to set forth in order our view of their arrangement.

The opening verses of the Sermon are devoted to a statement of those qualities which shall entitle a man to rank as a citizen of the new kingdom of God. No philosophic reader can fail to be struck with the fact that these qualities are unfolded in an order of development; they proceed from the least to the greater, from the greater to the highest. Each is distinguished from its predecessor by the degree of its fulness. The beginning of the series is poverty of spirit -a sense of utter and perfect emptiness. The second stage is mourning—the soul's sorrow for its own emptiness. third is meekness, which indicates a beginning of struggle, and therefore a slight transition from the negative into the The fourth is the hungering and thirsting after righteousness, which implies the beginning of aspiration, and therefore a still more marked advance into positive virtue. Then come the positive virtues themselves—mercy, purity of heart, and peacemaking, in whose gradations the progressive element is still preserved; the pure man is more than the merely merciful, and the man who makes peace in another is greater than he who has only found peace in himself. eighth beatitude is the climax of all, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." It might have been

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thought that, after delineating such virtues as meekness, mercy, and purity of heart, the pronouncing of a blessing on the persecuted was an anti-climax. And so it would certainly be if the being persecuted for righteousness' sake were counted an eighth virtue distinct from the preceding This, however, is not the case. The idea is not that to be persecuted for righteousness' sake constitutes an additional quality, but rather that it is an experience of life which gives strength to all the qualities already enumerated. It is much to be poor in spirit, to be meek, to be merciful, to be pure in heart, to be a peacemaker amongst men; but to be all these things in the midst of temptations to be the contrary, this is virtue indeed. To be poor in spirit when we have inducements to be proud, to be meek when we have temptations to be violent, to hunger and thirst for goodness when we are solicited on every side only to hunger and thirst for perishable things, to be merciful when we are tempted to revenge, to make peace when we are incited to make war. and to be pure in heart when we are in contact with the elements of impurity, all this is to receive an additional blessing on the old quality. It is not the adding of a new grace to the soul, but it is the impartation to the former graces of a strength which hitherto they did not possess, and whose possession gives them double value; to hold the virtues of the Mount through persecution is to be twice blessed.

Such, then, are the qualities of the new kingdom of God which Christ came to establish in the world. The union of these qualities constitutes the power of Christianity. Accordingly, the Sermon on the Mount next goes on to exhibit the nature of that power which is conferred by the possession of the Christian beatitudes. It says that the power of Christianity consists in two things—it imparts perpetual youth, and it communicates the strength of revelation. Its impartation of perpetual youth is indicated in the words,

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"Ye are the salt of the earth;" its communication of revealing strength is expressed in the saying, "Ye are the light of the world." These two are strictly speaking reducible to one experience, for to be gifted with perpetual youth is really to be gifted with perpetual light. The revelation of Christian light is given in the revelation of Christian strength, and the revelation of Christian strength is the preservation of the soul's youth. It is not surprising, therefore, that the attention of the discourse should be mainly centred on the second or light-giving power of Christianity, and on the manner in which this power is to be attained. Our Lord declares that the only way to attain it is to be self-forgetting, to shine in such a way as to glorify another, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

At this point in the composition of the Sermon there naturally occurs the thought, how strange all this must sound in the ears of the Jewish nation. They have been taught to think of Christianity as a religion of pure mysticism and antinomianism, denying the permanence of the law and denying the need for practical morality; how must it surprise them to hear that the essence of the new religion consists in its power to communicate moral light, to shine before men. It is doubtless with such a thought in His view that in the 17th verse of the 5th chapter Christ breaks forth into the utterance, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets." Without such a thought in His view the saying would be irrelevant; it would have no connection with the previous question. But when we remember that Christianity presented itself to Judaism in the light of a faith which denied the power of good works, we shall not be disposed to wonder that in declaring the mission of the new religion to be a mission of moral illumination, the Christian Founder should have coupled that declaration with the statement that it had not come to destroy but to fulfil the

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precepts of the law. He declares that this fulfilment extends to the minutest particulars—to the jot, to the tittle, to the least of the commandments. He goes on to assert more than that. He says that the form of the moral law which He is promulgating on the Mount of Beatitudes is much more stringent in its requirements than the interpretation of the moral law promulgated on Mount Sinai, "I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." So far from asking less in point of morality, He is in reality asking He proceeds to illustrate this position in a succession of instances in which He shows that the moral law as understood by the men of old time did not reach to the surrender of the entire life. It was not an abandonment of sin, but only of sins; it did not pluck out the right eye nor cut off the right hand that offended, it merely forbade the eye to look in certain directions, it only prohibited the hand from performing special acts. In vers. 21, 27, 33, 38, and 43, this defectiveness of the old principle is clearly and emphatically illustrated, and it is shown that the old law has only found its fulfilment when its letter has been translated into spirit in the precepts of the new.

The last of the verses here referred to is the climax of the position, because it is the summing up of the whole law. The sum of that law was that a man should love his neighbour as himself,—a commandment which was declared to be really involved in the injunction, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." But Christ proceeds to show that, as understood by the men of old time, this commandment was narrow in the extreme. The word "neighbour" had to them a merely geographical import; it meant "the man of their own country," "the believer in their own religion," "the partaker in their own hopes," in a word, "the man who thought as they did." It was this narrowness of definition

which made it seem genuinely pious to say, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy." To this relative standard of perfection our Lord opposes what He calls the perfection of the Father,—a perfection which consists in making the sun to rise alike on the evil and the good. nature of the Father being love, the perfectness of His being consists in the unimpeded exercise of His love, in the fact that His love has no selfish limitations to narrow the range of its operation. To be the children of the Father is to be perfect as He is perfect—not, indeed, in the same degree, but after the same principle. Judaic love was not based on the principle of the Father's perfection, because it did not extend beyond the range of self-thought; it did not love its enemies. What the Jew loved was really a reflection of himself; he gave his heart to those whose hearts were already in sympathy with his own. His love had in it an element of selfishness; it was a homage paid to the vision of his own qualities seen in the person of others, it was a complacency towards the image in his looking-glass. to be a Christian was to follow the perfection of the Father. It was to love without reference to self, and therefore it was to love not only friends but enemies. It was a love in which there was no adoration of the looking-glass. It was not based upon a mere sense of self-complacency, a mere joy of finding others in agreement with ourselves. It was a love that did not seek its own, that went out beyond the precincts of the ground which itself had conquered, and had a blessing to bestow on those who dwelt in other fields.

Our Lord accordingly proceeds to tell His disciples that if they would keep the old law according to the perfection of the *Father*, they must eliminate from the keeping of it all reference to self-thought or self-interest; the working out of this idea is the burden of chapter vi. In the preceding chapter our Lord had shown that Christianity could only shine before men by having for its motive the glorifying of

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the Father, in other words, by being animated by the selfforgetfulness of love. He now goes on to tell His disciples the converse of this proposition. He says that if they give their alms to men to be seen of them, they have no reward of their Father, no shining, no part in the heavenly perfection. element is wanting which made the shining in the previous chapter not only possible but inevitable—the element of self-forgetfulness. And Christ says that what is true of almsgiving is in the same manner and for the same reason true also of prayer. It could not be otherwise, for prayer is simply the almsgiving of the heart. That which the hand gives, if it be a genuine gift, must have been already presented by the heart; the heart's presentation of a gift is its will to give, and that will, when uttered to God, is prayer. But Christ says that to pray for the good of others only that men may believe us to be good, is not the perfection of the Father, and cannot share in the reward of that perfection. Prayer, He says, must, like almsgiving, be the product of the heart and the spontaneous gift of love. Its deepest part must be unspoken, just because the deepest part of every wish is inexpressible in words; it can only be uttered to the Father in secret with the shut door. Our Lord is so impressed with the necessity of this that He prescribes for all time a manner of prayer—a prayer which is to be followed, not in its form of words, but in its mode of spirit. mode of spirit is from beginning to end the absence of selfthought. Its every sentence is pervaded by impersonality. Its first petition is for the hallowing of God's name, its second for the coming of His kingdom, its third for the doing of His will. The very prayer for daily bread is commanded to be offered, not by the individual for himself alone, but by the individual for himself and his community, "Give us our The supplication for the forgiveness of sin, which would seem to be the act of all others in which a man is bound to think of himself, is declared to rest for its efficacy on

a state of mind in which self is forgotten—on that mercy towards others which demands the giving up of the sense of private injury. Finally, in this connection, as it is with almsgiving and with prayer, so is it with fasting. No man can fast before God if his motive is to fast before men, in other words, if fasting be itself his object. Abstinence is only valuable when it is borne for the sake of love and duty. There is no virtue in pain as pain; here emphatically it is the end that sanctifies the means. The fast which pleases God, like the almsgivings and the prayers that please Him, is the fast that springs from a motive which impels the soul to forget its individual comforts, which is dictated, not by a sense of self-interest, but by the presence of an interest so far transcending self that the personal possessions of the hour are lost and overshadowed.

And here, as we take it, is explained the seemingly abrupt transition expressed in the words of ver. 19, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." Abrupt it would certainly be if, as is commonly understood, the treasures in question relate to worldly riches. It seems to us that they have no such reference. The treasures of which Christ speaks are the three spiritual qualities already spoken of — the almsgiving, the prayer, and the fasting. What He means to say is really this: Do not imprison your heavenly qualities in an earthly motive; do not let your virtuous acts be dictated by a policy of self-interest. Almsgiving, prayer, and fasting are all good things if their motive is laid in heaven; but if their motive is laid in earthly selfishness, they are the worst of all things. They are not only liable to the moth, and the rust, and the temporary losses which await all earthly possessions, but they bring a special penalty of their own. man's religion be corrupt, everything about him must be corrupt; "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" The treasures of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, belonging as they do to the sphere of religion, ought to

make a man rich all round, but for that very reason if they are transferred to the sphere of selfishness they shall make him poor all round; if his very religion be irreligious, if his very light be darkness, then darkness must lie both at the centre and at the circumference of all his being: "If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness."

It is on this ground that our Lord declares it to be vain for a man to attempt any compromise between the two worlds: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." The performance of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting for the sake of self-interest is such a compromise; it is the attempt to gain the credit of being religious without the sacrifice which a religious life involves, in other words, it is the turning of an act of sacrifice into a source of profit. Christ calls this a service of mammon, and by mammon He does not mean necessarily the love of money; He means that of which the love of money is only one of the many forms—the love of self. Hence it is that the connection between vers. 24 and 25 is easy and natural. Mammon is the service of self-interest, and the service of self-interest cannot be contemporaneous with the service of God; it follows as an inevitable corollary that self-thought must be discarded from religious acts: "Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life." Our Lord accordingly now proceeds to guard against this tendency towards mammon by expounding the principle of its operation. He classifies its various forms of manifestation under two great divisions. It sometimes comes by self-depreciation, at others by self-exaltation; sometimes by creating within the soul a sense of worldly anxiety; at others, by stimulating the soul with a sense of worldly pride; in either case it is a form of self-thought, and therefore a form of mammon. Our Lord takes up these two phases in succession, and the delineation of their action constitutes the sequel of the Sermon. Let us try to follow the order of the thought.

He begins by warning His disciples against admitting into their service of prayer an element of worldly anxiety:

"Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." Let us remember it is only in relation to the acts of religion that He forbids a sense of care for the temporal; if we lose sight of this fact we shall, indeed, lose the thread of the whole discourse, and reduce it to a series of disjointed statements. Christ does not forbid men to be ever influenced by earthly motives; He forbids them to be influenced by such motives in their prayers. He tells them when they enter into the house of prayer to shut the door on mammon in both his He tells them first of all to shut the door on mammon when he intrudes himself into their religious service in the garb of worldly anxiety. He says that when the man is depressed by the thought of his worldly affairs, he cannot at the same moment be elevated into the vision of God. declares that, in order to be elevated into the vision of God, a man must first be lifted out of the vision of himself, must be made to desire something beyond the range of the things that . are seen and temporal: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness." The first act of prayer must be the desire to be made unselfish, to be made partaker of that divine life which consists in the abandonment of self, to be freed from. that perpetual individualism which makes religion itself a It must be the desire that God's name may be hallowed, that God's kingdom may come, that God's will may be done on earth even as it is in heaven; this is to seek the righteousness of God, and to acquire this is to attain the spirit of self-forgetfulness.

But there is a second form of self-thought which our Lord seeks to exclude from the service of religion. If self-thought has one form in which it depresses the soul, it has another in which it produces the sense of exaltation. This second form of mammon-worship consists in approaching God in prayer with a remembrance that we are much better than others. To this spirit Christ says at the opening of chap. vii., "Judge

not, that ye be not judged." He tells His disciples that if in their acts of prayer they seek to contrast their own clear vision with the mote in the eye of their brother, they are thereby revealing that there is a beam in their own. calls this the casting of that which is holy unto the dogs, that is to say, the bringing into reproach of a thing which in itself is good. The condemnation of sin is a good thing, but if a man rejoices in the fact that his brother has a sin to be condemned, he is thereby rejoicing in the sin. repudiates an attitude of prayer which is based on the premise, "I thank Thee that I am not as other men." demands in exchange for that an attitude of humility based on the sense of personal need: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." He points to the fact that our shortcomings in the sight of the Father, so far from calling forth the Father's enmity, are the source of His divine pity; what He answers is not our faults but our needs. Our Lord asks His disciples to do in this as they have been done by. As they have received on account of their spiritual needs not judgment but mercy, so let them give not judgment but mercy to the spiritual needs of those beneath them. He expresses this command in the form of an abstract principle, which is at the root of all morality, and which is applicable to all time: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

But our Lord tells His disciples that this golden rule, this self-forgetfulness of love, this power of the individual man to put himself in the place of others, however easy it may be in theory, is the hardest of all things in practice. In exhorting them to follow that rule, which is the sublimation of the old law of Judaism, He does not for a moment conceal from them that they are entering in at a strait gate: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life." He says that if any man should preach to them a contrary doctrine,

if any man should tell them that the keeping of the golden rule is a light and easy thing, they must esteem him a false prophet, and turn aside from his teaching: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing "-who preach to you smooth things, who tell you that the living of the Christian life is child's play; test their statement by their own actions, and you will see whether they themselves find it thus easy: "By their fruits ye shall know them." And our Lord appropriately concludes by drawing a sharp line of demarcation between those who merely ventilate the theory and those who achieve the practical work, between the professors of the doctrine and the livers of the life: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." In striking preservation of that note which had been the keynote of His Sermon, He declares that the test of the difference between them will be found in the day of outward trial. As in the enumeration of the Beatitudes He had placed last that power to endure persecution which had proved the permanence of all that had already been achieved, so He places in the climax of the Christian life the character of the man whose theories will help him in the storm. The man of mere theory cannot stand the storm; his fine sentiments are blown out by the gale; he is like a house built upon the sand, which falls because the floods descend and the winds blow. The man of practice, on the other hand, is rooted on that rock of love which, having its source in self-forgetfulness, is independent of the storms which assail the self-life; the rain may descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow, but the house that is built on the rock will reveal by its unshaken firmness the strength of its foundation.

GEORGE MATHESON.

THE GROUNDWORK OF THE APOCALYPSE.—II.

In illustration of the line of thought suggested in my last paper, I propose now to examine with reference to its sources the vision of the "seven seals" in Rev. vi. and vii., and the point on which I desire to lay the chief stress is this: that the key to the exact interpretation of the vision lies in its connexion with our Lord's discourse on the Mount of Olives (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.), and with the prophecies of the Old Testament, and therein more especially Zech. vi. For the present it will be desirable to confine our attention to the first four seals, which form a group by themselves, their affinity to each other being marked by the fact that in each of them the principal object is a rider on a horse (though the colour of the horse is different in each case), while their separation from those which follow is evidenced by the absence in the later ones of the summons, "Come," and of the agency of the four living creatures which is conspicuous in the four earlier ones. Further, it will be well to see the general drift and meaning of the vision before consulting the parallels to which I have referred; and then the parallels, if satisfactorily established, will come in afterwards as giving the clue to its special reference.

The first seal. "And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four living creatures saying, as with a voice of thunder, Come. And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat thereon had a bow; and there was given unto him a crown: and he came forth conquering, and to conquer."

This vision set in the forefront is evidently designed for the consolation and encouragement of the Church. White is

not only "the colour and livery of heaven" (see Matt. xvii. 2. xxviii. 3; Rev. i. 14, iii. 4, etc.), but it is also used where the thought of victory seems to be present (see Rev. iii. 5, "He that overcometh (ὁ νικῶν) shall be arrayed in white garments"), -a thought which is associated with the word even by heathen Probably the two ideas should be combined here, and then the colour will suggest a divine and heavenly victory, and no mere earthly triumph. The bow is the instrument of warfare, and the rider is identified with the Son of God by chap. xix. 11, 12: "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself. And he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God."

There is, however, an important difference between the two passages, which is unhappily missed by the Authorised Version, though rightly denoted by the revisers. In the earlier vision, when the Son of God is represented as going forth "conquering and to conquer," He wears on His head the crown or garland of victory (στέφανος, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 25, etc.). In the later, where He bears the name of "King of kings and Lord of lords" (xix. 16), He is crowned with the "many diadems" (διαδήματα πολλά) of royalty.

This first vision, then, taken by itself, must denote the ultimate triumph of Christ and His cause over all His foes.

The second seal. "And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature saying, Come. And another horse came forth, a red horse: and to him that sat thereon it was given to take peace from the earth, and that they should slay one another: and there was given unto him a great sword."

Here, again, the general drift of the vision is tolerably

clear. The *sword*, like the bow, is the emblem of warfare (cf. Matt. x. 34, "I came not to send peace, but a sword"); while *red*, the colour of blood (cf. 2 Kings iii. 22, "red as blood"), suggests the same thought (cf. Ps. lxviii. 23; Isa. lxiii. 2; Nahum ii. 3). Thus this second vision is simply a symbolic representation of *war*.

The third seal. "And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature saying, Come. And I saw, and behold a black horse: and he that sat thereon had a balance in his hand. And I heard, as it were, a voice in the midst of the four living creatures saying, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and the oil and the wine hurt thou not."

Black is universally recognised as the colour of grief and mourning. The balance (ζύγος) signifies a pair of scales, as in Lev. xix. 36, Isa. xl. 12, Ezek. xlv. 10, and other passages of the LXX.; while the words spoken by the voice form a perfect parallel, by way of contrast, with 2 Kings vii. 1, where the italics in our version point to the absence of a verb in the original: "A measure of fine flour for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel." The prophet Elisha is there announcing the coming plenty. The measure of which he speaks is the "seah," the third part of an ephah, probably equal to about a peck and a half English. In the Revelation the "measure" is the chanix or quart, "only the eighth part of a modius, and a modius of wheat was usually sold for a denarius (A.V. penny), and sometimes for half that sum" (Cicero, Verr. iii. 81, and De Div. c. 10).1 The "penny," or δηνάριος, was a day's wages for a labourer (Matt. xx. 2). Thus the exclamation, "A measure of wheat for a penny," etc., denotes not plenty, but scarcity and famine; and this idea is heightened by the fact that the corn is weighed in scales, and not measured in bushels. The closing words of this vision are difficult, and I cannot say that any thoroughly

1 Bishop Wordsworth in loc.

satisfactory explanation of them is forthcoming. It is possible, however, that they are merely intended to be taken as a divine voice checking the judgment from proceeding farther. But apart from this single clause, the meaning of this third seal is plain enough. It forms a symbolical representation of famine.

The fourth seal. "And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature saying, Come. And I saw, and behold a pale horse: and he that sat upon him, his name was Death, and Hades followed with him. And there was given unto them authority over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with famine, and with death, and by the wild beasts of the earth."

The last words point to the "four sore judgments" of Ezek. xiv. 21, "The sword, and the famine, and the noisome beasts, and the pestilence," "Death" in the Apocalypse being equivalent to "pestilence" in Ezekiel. A reference to the LXX. version of the passage referred to is sufficient to establish this fact, as there we find the same word, θάνατος, used for the Hebrew "Ες (ρομφαίον καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον), as it is in more than thirty other passages of the LXX., e.g. in connexion with famine in 1 Kings viii. 37; 2 Chron. xx. 9; Jer. xxi. 7, etc.; and in connection with bloodshed (αίμα) in Ezek. xxviii. 23.

Thus the rider on the pale horse will represent pestilence, rather than what we should call death. This is symbolized by Hades, the under-world personified, as following in the train of pestilence. The word used for the colour of the horse, $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\dot{o}s$, signifies the "livid" hue of death, the Vulgate rendering "cquus pallidus" strangely recalling the "pallida mors" of Horace.

The central idea of this fourth seal is therefore that of pestilence, accompanied as it usually is by horrors of various kinds.

We have now, by examining these visions in the light

of other passages of the Bible, and by comparing the symbolism used in them with that which meets us elsewhere, arrived at this point, that they represent four great ideas—(1) Messianic victory, (2) war, (3) famine, (4) pestilence. But there is nothing as yet to explain why these ideas are introduced, or on whom the judgments are to fall, or when the fulfilment of them is to be looked for. Are we, with some, to take the second, third, and fourth visions as descriptive of Satan's assaults upon the Church (1) by persecution, (2) by heresy (symbolized by famine), and (3) by multiform trials (the four sore judgments)? Or, with others,2 shall we take them all as portraying the circumstances of our Lord's second coming. representing that event under various aspects? It is when we come to consider questions such as these that it is of such great importance to bear in mind the fact alluded to at the outset of this paper, viz. the close connexion between these "seals" and (1) Zechariah's vision in his 6th chapter, and (2) our Lord's discourse on the Mount of Olives in Matt. xxiv. But this connexion must first be established, and then we shall be in a position to see what follows from it.

The vision of Zechariah is as follows:-

¹ As Bishop Wordsworth.

"I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came four chariots out from between the two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass. In the first chariot were red horses; and in the second chariot black horses; and in the third chariot white horses; and in the fourth chariot grisled and bay (rather strong) horses. Then I answered and said unto the angel that talked with me, What are these, my lord? And the angel answered and said unto me, These are the four spirits (or winds) of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth. The black horses which are

2 As Dr. J. H. Todd.

therein go forth into the north country; and the white go forth after them; and the grisled go forth toward the south country. And the bay (? red) went forth, and sought to go that they might walk to and fro through the earth: and he said, Get you hence, walk to and fro through the earth. So they walked to and fro through the earth. Then cried he upon me, and spake unto me, saying, Behold, these that go toward the north country have quieted my spirit (i.e. appeased mine anger) in the north country."

Although there is considerable difference in detail, yet the general similarity of the two passages must be evident to every reader, and it is difficult to resist the impression that this vision of Zechariah forms as it were the groundwork of the vision of the first four seals in the Apocalypse. There is, it is true, a difference of order, but three of the colours are identical, and probably the fourth is also. White, red, and black horses are common to both passages, and St. John's $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\delta$ may easily denote the same shade as the rare word in Zechariah (LXX. $\pi\omega\kappa(\lambda\omega)$), a term that is elsewhere applied to goats (Gen. xxxi. 10, 12).

To us in the present day, who are probably far more familiar with the Revelation than with the Old Testament, to explain St. John by means of Zechariah may seem at first sight like explaining the easier by means of the harder. Our natural tendency is to explain the prophet of the Old Covenant by means of the New Testament writer.² But we must never forget how familiar St. John and his readers were with the Old Testament Scriptures. In my last paper I pointed out how easily and naturally the apostle fell into the use of Old

¹ It ought to be noted that in an earlier vision of Zechariah (i. 8) we are shown riders on "red horses, speckled (שִׁרְקִים), and white." This probably formed the groundwork of the later vision of the same prophet, which in its turn formed the groundwork of St. John's.

² Compare Mr. Lowe's notes on Zech. vi. in Bishop Ellicott's Commentary, where this tendency is pointed out.

Testament language and imagery; and I think that there can be little doubt that this is what he has done here. The subject of his revelation was, if not identical with, at any rate analogous to that of Zechariah, and therefore the symbolical form in which it is cast is not dissimilar. Now, how does this bear upon the interpretation of the vision? It teaches us, I think, to see in these riders on the different coloured horses God's judgments falling upon the earth, and leading to His complete victory over His foes.

Many details in the interpretation of the prophet's vision are extremely obscure, but the general drift of it is clear enough. He is describing, not Satan's assaults upon the Jewish Church, but God's judgments upon the nations of the world. Surely, then, the same interpretation should be applied to the symbols where they reappear in the Apocalypse. This, if granted, at once excludes all those explanations of the vision which would identify the rider on the red horse with persecution, that on the black with heresy, and so on; and would see in them representations of the various trials to which the Christian Church has been subjected through Satanic agency and the hostility of the world. And while it excludes such interpretations, it fixes the general meaning of the passage as being descriptive of God's judgments upon His foes.

But we are still far from the solution of the whole difficulty. At what period of the world's history are we to look for the fulfilment of these signs? Are they past, or are they yet to come? It is in the consideration of questions such as these that the importance of comparing the visions before us with our Lord's discourse on the Mount of Olives becomes manifest. Let us then turn back to this discourse. It is recorded fully by each of the three synoptic evangelists (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.).

All three represent our Lord as beginning with a caution to the apostles not to be deceived by false Christs, and then immediately afterwards stands the announcement of various troubles coming, not on the Church, but on the world. These are characterized by St. Matthew and St. Mark as "the beginning of travail" $(\mathring{a}\rho\chi\mathring{\eta}\ \mathring{\omega}\delta\acute{\nu}\omega\nu)$, and each of the three evangelists is careful to record the saying that "the end $(\tau\grave{o}\ \tau\acute{e}\lambda os)$ is not yet."

The passage in St. Matthew's Gospel stands as follows: "Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled; for these things must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places. But all these things are the beginning of travail."

To these calamities St. Luke's report adds pestilences (λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί), a word which stands in St. Matthew in the Received Text and Authorized Version, but has rightly been omitted by the revisers, in accordance with the evidence of the best MSS. (It is wanting in *, B, D, etc.)

Now, although there is considerable difference of opinion concerning the reference of the latter part of this discourse, almost all commentators are agreed that the section known as "the beginning of travail" belongs to the period before the destruction of Jerusalem. Indeed, it seems to me that the only sound interpretation of the prophecy is that which, taking full account of the plain and obvious meaning of our Lord's words in vers. 34-36,¹ explains the whole discourse up to that point of His "coming" in that terrible catastrophe: or rather of His continuous coming during the forty years from the day of Pentecost to the destruction of the city, a "coming"

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^{1 &}quot;Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only." "This generation" can mean nothing but those who were then alive; and the careful reader can scarcely fail to be struck by the contrast drawn between "all these things" of which our Lord has just been speaking, and "that day," i.e., as in other passages, the final day of judgment (Matt. vii. 22; 2 Thess. i. 10; 2 Tim. i. 12. etc.).

which was twofold in character,—in mcrcy, in the establishment of the Christian Church, and in judgment, in the destruction of the Jewish polity.

But, leaving out of consideration for the present the interpretation of the latter part of the discourse, let us return to the earlier verses. It will be seen that the calamities mentioned in them are in the main those which are represented in the visions of the second, third, and fourth seals. "Ye shall hear of WARS and rumours of wars . . . there shall be FAMINES and PESTILENCES." This of itself is striking, and suggests a connexion between the two passages, an inference which is greatly strengthened and rendered almost a certainty when we notice that the correspondence of thought and even occasionally of expression is not confined to this earlier portion, but extends throughout; so that the whole discourse in a manner runs parallel to the whole vision of the seven seals.

The fifth seal brings into view "the souls of them which were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." So after "the beginning of travail" our Lord says: "Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake" (Matt. xxiv. 9).

When the sixth seal was opened "there was a great earth-quake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the whole moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, as a fig-tree casteth her unripe figs when she is shaken of a great wind. And the heaven was removed as a scroll when it is rolled up; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places." So in ver. 29 of St. Matt. xxiv. we read: "Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken."

There follows next in the Revelation (1) the sealing of the

hundred and forty-four thousand, and (2) the vision of the great multitude which no man could number, who, according to the explanation of the angel, are "they which come out of the great tribulation" (ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης), an expression which at once sends us back to our Lord's words: "Then shall be great tribulation (θλίψις μεγάλη), such as hath not been from the beginning of the world till now, no, nor ever shall be" (ver. 21); the definite article (the great tribulation) in the angel's explanation fixing the reference as intentional, so that we can scarcely avoid connecting the sealing of the servants of God with the allusions to the "elect," for whose sake the days are to be shortened (ver. 22); while the great multitude which no man could number can only represent those who are gathered together by the angels from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other (ver. 31). This parallelism of the two passages and its results will, it is hoped, be more fully illustrated and developed in my next paper, in which I propose to deal with the last three In concluding this paper I will only remark, that if the connexion which I have striven to establish be granted, it affords the clue which we have been seeking to the interpretation of the earlier seals. The wars, famines, and pestilences of our Lord's prophecy confessedly belong to the years between the day of Pentecost and the destruction of Surely, then, those of the apocalyptic vision must Jerusalem. be taken as referring to the same period.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

LAW, LIBERTY, AND EXPEDIENCY.

1 Cor. vi. 12-20, and x. 23-xi. 1.

THE saying, "All things are lawful for me," appears to have been a sort of watchword or party-cry adopted by a certain section of the Corinthian Church. They were the Broad Churchmen of Corinth, the men of the "advanced" or "liberal" school, to speak in modern phrase. St. Paul so far endorses their principle, and it so far accords with the views he expresses elsewhere, that we may fairly presume that the contested expression was borrowed originally from his own At any rate, he is at considerable pains to explain and to guard this maxim. After commenting upon it at some length in the sixth chapter of his first Epistle, he returns to it again, approaching it from another side, in the tenth. the perplexed moral and social questions which had arisen out of the intense ferment then taking place in the Corinthian Church—a Church so full of conflicting elements and of eager and gifted spirits-all revolved more or less round this chief and central question, as to the nature of Christian liberty. And we find the same problem occupying the apostle's mind in writing his contemporary letters to Rome 1 and to Galatia.2 These Epistles signalize, in fact, the beginning of the perennial controversy between legalism and antinomianism, which fills so large a place in ecclesiastical history. With a watchful eye and a firm and skilful hand, St. Paul guided the Church's course betwixt the Scylla and Charybdis on either side, and marked out the track which Christian teaching ever since has needed closely and warily to follow.

The party who inscribed the motto, "All things are lawful," on their banner were doubtless the same as those who cried

¹ See especially Rom. vi. 12-23; viii. 3, 4.

² Gal. v. 13, 14.

"I am of Paul," and whose partisan zeal on his behalf the apostle so earnestly deprecates. And some of them were disposed to push their principle-indeed, had already pushed it—in a direction which called for the strongest reprobation. They were ready to sacrifice reverence and charity, and even purity itself, to an exaggerated and false notion of freedom, and to "use liberty for an occasion to the flesh." Out of love of liberty they would become libertines. Arrayed against this party were the extremists of the opposite type, the champions of authority, who, for want of a fitter name, adopted Peter for their leader, and answered the "I am of Paul" with a defiant "I of Cephas." Every innovation, in their view, was a sacrilege. The very name of Liberty they regarded with suspicion and with dread. If they could have had their way, they would have shackled Christianity for all time with the restraints and formalities of Pharisaic law, and confined its larger and manlier life within the swaddling bands of its Jewish infancy. Both parties, as proves too commonly the case, amid the dust and heat of the conflict had failed to discern the underlying principles of spiritual freedom; in view of which St. Paul seeks to enlighten and correct them both, and to bring them to a sound and brotherly practical agreement.

In verse thirteen of the sixth chapter the apostle therefore marks out by a twofold example, bearing immediately on the matters at issue in the Church of Corinth at the time, the boundary line between liberty and licence. He shows what kind of things Christian liberty includes and allows, and what

^{1 1} Cor. i. 12. Those critics seem to be in the right who distinguish the parties assuming the names of Paul and Peter as the two chief opposing factions in the Corinthian Church, the only parties, in the stricter use of the word, divided on questions of principle. On this view the Apolline fraction consisted of the more pronounced admirers of the eloquence and philosophical method of Apollos, adhering in their general views to the Pauline party; while others, probably a select few, holding aloof from the strife connected with the two great apostolic names, and professing to be guided only by the Divine Master, claimed on that account a peculiar right to say, "I am of Christ." But these latter groups were so far infected with the contentious spirit prevailing in the Church, that with less excuse they assumed a similar attitude of partisanship and personal rivalry.

kind of things it excludes and abhors. So the range of the principle, "All things are lawful," is securely and firmly limited. Meanwhile, and in both the passages in which it is quoted, its application within that range is guarded and qualified by the balancing principle of Expediency; which, again, is shown to rest upon a twofold consideration, first of prudence, then of charity.

1. Where, then, and how far is it true that "all things are St. Paul gives us no general definition of the lawful "? morally indifferent, of that which in itself, and abstractly considered, it is equally right to do or to leave undone. writes, not as a moral philosopher with a theory to construct, but as an apostle of Christ, a bishop of souls, who has urgent business of church discipline and of practical life calling for settlement. The lawfulness of "meats" pronounced "unclean" for the Jews by the Mosaic law, or offered in sacrifice to idols, was a question hotly debated at the time, and one in regard to which it was necessary that the mind of the Church should once for all be set at rest. This may seem, at first sight, to be a narrow question, of altogether limited and temporary importance. But it formed in reality a test case for a multitude of difficulties that were sure to arise from the contact of Christianity with the more external systems of ancient religion. And St. Paul deals with it on the widest principles. that combined logical and spiritual penetration which was one of his finest characteristics, he passes at once beyond the trivial incidents and commonplace features of the matter to the foundations of the divine order of things and of the scheme of human life which he discerns lying beneath it. A mind like his could not rest content with a compromise, suitable only for tiding over the immediate difficulty of the moment, such as that which issued from the wisdom of the Council of Jerusalem; 1 although he had accepted the decrees of that convention in good faith, and had published and enforced them in the region to which they were properly addressed.2 2 Acts xvi. 4. These "decrees" are never mentioned again. 1 Acts xv. 22-29.

no note of compromise or hesitation in the words that he uses now. And in the blunt, half-contemptuous form of the sentences with which he disposes of the matter we may detect a tone of just impatience at the heated and persistent controversy carried on about "meat and drink" in so many of the churches. "Meats 1 are for the belly," he pronounces, with a severe judicial irony, "and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them."

Brief as these words are, they serve, notwithstanding, to enunciate two weighty principles of large import and manifold application. St. Paul points out, in the first place, the natural adaptation of food for the organs of digestion, the mutual provision of each for the other. He appeals, in fact, to the laws of nature and the manifest fitness of things, as the expression of the divine will in this particular case. "Doth not nature itself teach you?" he seems to ask, as in a later chapter,2 and in regard to another matter, he actually does ask these same Corinthians. And by doing so he virtually recognises the province of natural law and of natural reason, as powers perfectly valid and independent within their own sphere and for their proper purposes. And he claims for this kingdom of nature a divine origin,3 as well as for that higher realm of spiritual being and of moral law alone constituting "the kingdom of God" in the proper sense.4

The second reason the apostle gives for the moral indifference of "meats" is of a negative character. It lies in their temporary and perishing nature. "God shall bring to nought both it and them," both the belly and its meats. "But the body," he goes on to say, "is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. God both raised the Lord, and will raise up us.... Your bodies are members of Christ.... Your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost." He distinguishes sharply and precisely

¹ τὰ βρώματα, i.e. the different kinds of food, food-stuffs, as Mr. Beet renders it.

² 1 Cor. xi. 14.

³ Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 1-4; Acts xiv. 17; xvii. 24-26; Rom. i. 20.

⁴ Rom. xiv. 17.

between the body itself and certain of its present organs and physical conditions of life; and he ascribes to the former a present dignity and sacredness, and a transcendent future destiny, in which the latter have no share. This distinction takes its ultimate form in the fifteenth chapter, where the writer discriminates the "spiritual" from the "natural (psychical) body," "the image of the heavenly" which "we shall wear" from "the image of the earthy (Adam)" which "we have worn." This "corruptible and mortal," compounded of "flesh and blood," which "cannot inherit the kingdom of God," is not, he declares, "the body that shall come to be," but only its "seed." In the light of this subsequent discussion the meaning of the apostle in the sentence before us becomes more clear and tangible. He wishes us to understand that "meats" will have no place in the resurrection-body, that they and the bodily organs and functions connected with them belong to the corruptible and perish in the grave. this he infers the indifference of matters of this sort, since they have their part only in "the fashion of this world" which "passeth away." For the same reason he bids the Colossian Christians give no heed to ritual prescriptions and ascetic dietary rules. "Why," he says, "do you submit to these decrees, 'Handle not, nor taste, nor touch,' in things which are to perish with the using,"—which enter in no way into our permanent being, and with which we shall soon have done for ever? This teaching of St. Paul we cannot but connect with the memorable saying of Christ recorded in Mark vii. 14-23, which the Revised translation enables the English reader for the first time to understand. There a contrast is set up between that which "from without goeth into the man and cannot defile him," and "that which proceedeth from within, out of the heart of men," and by which alone they contract defilement. "The belly" is specified as the organ of the former process, which connects man with his material environment; "the heart" of the latter, which belongs to his moral being and personal relations. "This," he said, adds St. Mark, "making clean all meats." 1

The doctrine of clean and unclean meats was one that, along with the sanitary and medical regulations of the Mosaic law, served important purposes of discipline in the training of the Jewish race; and it was in harmony with many ancient religious beliefs. Its office was now discharged. But it could not easily or quickly be set aside; and it proved an obstinate hindrance to the teaching of the Gospel,2 and an almost insuperable bar to the social union of Jew and Gentile in the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding the plain words of Christ on the subject, the Apostle Peter required a special revelation to satisfy him that this distinction was at an end. St. Paul's Judaizing opponents found in it a powerful weapon to use against him. At Rome, at Corinth, at Colossæ, and Ephesus,⁸ in Crete,4 and, as one might expect, amongst the readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews-everywhere these dietary scruples raised embarrassments and divisions. In some cases they were due to mere Pharisaic legalism; in others (as at Colossæ, and apparently at Rome), to ascetic and mystical notions of a more or less philosophical cast; in other instances, again, to the dread of contact with idolatry through its animal sacrifices. It was not easy to persuade men steeped in Jewish ideas that "meat commendeth us not to God," that "nothing (of the kind) is unclean of itself;" and to make them understand that questions of diet belong to the physician and the physician logist, and lie altogether outside the sphere of Christian teaching and church regulation.

Here, then, St. Paul held that "all things are lawful,"—all things which nature (that is, which God in nature) furnishes as suitable for our temporal use, and which do not affect this

¹ See Canon Farrar's paper on "Purging all Meats," in the *Expositor*, First Series, iii. 308-318. The addition of this comment by St. Mark is specially interesting in view of the traditional connection between Peter (comp. Acts x. 15) and the second Gospel.

² See especially Heb. ix. 9, 10; xiii. 9.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 1-5.

⁴ Tit. i. 15.

way or that our inner self, our permanent being. There is nothing in the teaching of Christ or His apostles which goes to prescribe what a man's secular avocation shall be, provided it be honest; what his recreation, provided it be innocent; what he shall eat or drink or wear, provided it be wholesome and decent, and strictly within his means. Where such prescriptions and regulations are laid down, they should proceed on civil and social, and not primarily on religious grounds. all these external matters there is for every Christian man wide room for freedom, and the utmost variety is consistent with true Christian faith and love. Such is the liberty that St. Paul claims for his children in the faith, as against every kind of caste legislation and unhealthy asceticism; and it is asserted on principles which equally forbid all ecclesiastical dominance and dictation in "the things which are Cæsar's," and which belong to the realms of material nature and secular knowledge and activity.

2. But the Gentile tendency, and especially the Corinthian tendency, was, on the other hand, to moral laxity. ordinary morality of Greek life put on much the same level as matters of food and drink things that are of an immeasurably more sacred import, and that directly and profoundly affect personal life and character. There were those amongst the renowned philosophers of Greece, and amongst her admired moralists, who came near to teaching, if they did not actually teach, that "all things are lawful," where the law of God declared in the thunders of Sinai, and yet more sternly from the awful lips of Jesus, "Thou shalt not,"—branding even the wanton look as a deadly sin. The earlier classic Corinth had been a proverb for its shameless profligacy, and the newer Roman city, we may well believe, was not far behind it in this respect. With such surroundings, and in the case of men of such antecedents as those the apostle has just described. it was difficult indeed to maintain Christian purity of feeling

¹ Vers. 9-11.

and chastity of life. No power but that of "the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Spirit of our God" could conceivably have wrought the immense and rapid moral transformation that had been witnessed in many of those Corinthians. We can scarcely wonder that in some instances lapses into gross immorality had occurred.\(^1\) One of these instances was of a peculiarly shocking character, and had been regarded by the Church with an unconcern that caused the apostle the gravest alarm. Hence the sudden antithesis which marks the transition to the last clause of ver. 13, and the vehement interdict which St. Paul proceeds to launch against a vice all but universal in the Gentile world of his day, and whose existence is, alas, so easily and lightly tolerated in our Christian cities.

Matters of the table may be left comparatively to nature and common sense; and they are not worth the contention and the trouble spent upon them. But not so here. The body has relations far more sacred and vital than those that connect it with its perishing sustenance.2 Through our bodily frame we stand in organic connection with the entire kindred of mankind, and with Christ Himself, the hereditary Head and living centre of the race. He, the very Son of God, was also "born of woman," 3 and "partook in like manner" with ourselves of that "blood and flesh" of which we all are sharers.4 His lordship over us is inherent in the primal creation and composition of our nature.⁵ By our birth and origin we are under His rule, in becoming members of the human family. That "the head of every man is Christ" is, in St. Paul's view, as much a natural truth as that "the head of the woman is the man." 6 Redemption restores and completes the plan of creation. On both accounts our bodies are "members (limbs) of Christ" (ver. 15), and may not be used as though they were

¹ Chap. v.; 2 Cor. xii. 21.

³ Gal. iv. 4.

⁵ Col. i. 16, 17; 1 Cor. viii. 6.

² Comp. Luke xii. 23.

⁴ Heb. ii. 14; Rom. viii. 3.

^{6 1} Cor. xi. 3-12.

merely our own. To make them "members of a harlot" is the height of desecration and outrage. He who "raised the Lord will raise up us by His power" (ver. 14); and it appears to be this natural and (if one may so say) corporeal unity of the race in Christ-a unity "natural" first that it may become "spiritual"—which, to St. Paul's mind, warrants the expectation of a general resurrection.1 There was evidently a close connection between the low moral tone which the fifth chapter of this letter indicates in the Church of Corinth, and the theoretical disbelief in a bodily resurrection cherished by some of its members.2 The Incarnation reveals the sanctity of the human body: 8 the resurrection of Christ invests it with a supernatural dignity and glory. In the Christian view, therefore, sexual sin assumes a peculiarly heinous and shameful It is committed against the body itself in its own character. nature (ver. 18), of which Christ is the Lord and the guardian; against the life of the race, whose Head He is, and of which each man is in his individual person the depositary and trustee; against the "glory of manhood," turned to shame in dishonoured womanhood.4 When St. Paul therefore says, "The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord," the opposition he expresses is direct and fundamental, and belongs to the innermost nature of things.

The family is the divinely constituted basis and framework of human existence. The relation in which it originates belongs to the deepest sanctities of life. For this reason the transgressions which violate that relation bring so dark and lasting a stain of dishonour, and are peculiarly offensive to the Holy Spirit of God (ver. 19). They do not involve the outward man alone; nor are they like his transient alliances with the world of sense. "He that is joined to the harlot is one body," as truly as "he that is joined to the Lord is one

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22; Acts xvii. 26-31.

³ John ii. 21.

⁵ Matt. xix. 3-9; Eph. v. 22-33.

² See 1 Cor. xv. 32-34.

⁴¹ Cor. xi. 8.

⁶ Comp. 1 Thess. iv. 8.

Spirit" (vers. 16, 17). In each case there is a personal union, creating a moral bond between the two, with its permanent effect on life and character. Here we are concerned with the things that most of all "proceed out of the heart of men," and bring into play their inward nature, calling forth its strongest and deepest passions; with the essential and not the circumstantial in human life, that in which character is tested and determined and the current of personal history gets its main bent and drift. "There are two rocks in a man's life on which he must anchor or split-God and woman." 1 St. Paul has declared elsewhere that, in some especial sense, "the Lord is an avenger concerning all these things," 2 concerning every act, word, look, or thought which wounds the honour of the human person, or offends against the rightful. delicate, and reverent relationship to each other of the two halves of the human race.

So that in this regard we are not left to the light of nature and the lessons of experience; though they might teach us more than many seem to know. Here Almighty God has laid down a law fixed in the primal constitution of our twofold wedded human nature, and pressed upon men with increasing strictness and urgency as revelation advanced to its culmination in the Person of Christ. And across the line marked out by that law is placed a flaming sword which "turneth every way," and smites every transgressor without sparing. Woe unto him who says here, "All things are lawful There are things which men have called unclean, but God has cleansed; and there are things which men try to cleanse, defiling themselves the more in doing so, but which God has pronounced essentially unclean, and which exclude from all "inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God."

As in the case of the lawful, so in the case of the unlawful, the apostle's reasoning is capable of a wider application. No more for Christian than for Jew—still less

¹ A saying of F. W. Robertson's. ² 1 Thess, iv. 3-8; Heb. xiii. 4.

for Christian than for Jew—is anything lawful which God's law, fulfilled in His Son Jesus Christ, denounces and forbids. And the prohibitions of that law will be found, when we are wise enough to see it, to be based in every point, as St. Paul intimates in respect of this point, on the idea and ground-plan of man's nature and constitution as that is made manifest in his redemption by Christ Jesus.

3. While the sphere of Christian liberty is thus defined both on the positive and negative side, at the same time its use within that sphere must be controlled and regulated. We are apt to think that if the thing we are inclined to is lawful, there needs no further justification of it. But the apostle gives us pause once more, and requires us before we proceed to consider whether it is expedient also. He would have us understand that freedom is a trust as well as a right, and creates new responsibilities. The mere existence of the abstract right is no excuse for a mischievous use of it. The expediency on which the apostle insists so strongly has regard first to our own, then to our neighbour's good. And so it furnishes St. Paul's two golden rules of Christian temperance in the use of things lawful.

The first is self-regarding. "All things are lawful for me (are in my power); but I will not be brought under the power of anything" (vi. 12). That is to say, I will take no course, however lawful in itself, however suited to my inclination, which is likely to impair my independence and self-mastery. While I vindicate my liberty against the unwarranted dogmatism and dictation of other men, I will guard it yet more sedulously against the encroachments of my own lower nature, and against the entanglements which circumstances may prepare for me. These may be something which is at present in my power; no one has a right to forbid my use or enjoyment of it. But I have reason to fear that if I use it, I shall put myself in its power, and may have to say, "I cannot do without this thing; this indulgence has

got the mastery over me." Now St. Paul says virtually, "I will never run such a risk as that; I will not by abuse of liberty forfeit that liberty in its noblest part." In that case, however lawful the thing desired may be in itself, however innocent and serviceable to others, for him who is so endangered, "Handle not, nor taste, nor touch," becomes an imperative rule of expediency, and the mere instinct of selfpreservation dictates its observance. But it is a rule whose application depends on the free exercise of conscience and of judgment. It is a counsel of prudence, not a law of morality; and speaks, as Kant would say, with a "hypothetical," not a "categorical imperative." Every Christian man must learn for himself how best to cherish unimpaired that manly sobriety and self-control which become the good soldier of Christ Jesus who strives for the incorruptible crown. must learn to say in the midst of the innocent pleasures of life, as well as amidst its perilous luxuries and weak indulgences, "I so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I, as not beating the air: but I buffet my body and keep it in subjection—I treat it as a slave, not as a master." 1 find the motive of the true Christian asceticism. It restrains and keeps under the body, not for the mere sake of doing so. nor out of contempt for the physical nature as though it were intrinsically base and sinful; but in order to make it an instrument subservient to the life of the spirit, and to the demands of Christ whose property it is (chap. vi. 13, 20).

The second rule of temperance is altruistic, or other-regarding. "All things are lawful, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbour's good" (chap. x. 23, 24). Though a thing be lawful in itself, and good and safe for me, yet if my use of it is likely to injure my neighbour, then it is not expedient, and charity forbids it. St. Paul has already in chap. ix. with great propriety pointed the Corinthians to his own example in illustration of what he desires

^{1 1} Cor. ix. 24-27.

He had a right, for instance, to claim his to see in them. personal maintenance from those whom he served in "spiritual things;" and he strongly vindicates that right for his fellow-labourers in the service of the gospel. But he had an equal right to dispense with any such assistance, and to support himself by his own manual labour. He tells us that he chose the latter alternative, and preferred to "labour and travail night and day "at the rough and ill-paid tent-making; although we may be sure it would have been far more congenial to himself, and in many respects more advantageous for his work, to spend the time thus employed in study and For he judged that under the circumstances this would be the more expedient course for himself, in the interest of the widely scattered churches to which he ministered, and under the continual suspicions and misrepresentations by which he was pursued. He kept himself "free from all " that he might be the " servant of all." he stoutly maintained the indifference of "meats" as a question of principle, he was ready to make every possible concession in practice, where the safety of a "weak brother" was concerned. "If meat make my brother to stumble,"why, then, he cries, "I will eat no meat for evermore." he claims no peculiar privilege of self-denial. He gathers from his own conduct a general precept for the Christian life; and bids the contentious and self-asserting Corinthians learn from him to "give no occasion of stumbling, either to Jews. or to Greeks, or to the Church of God; even as he also pleased all men in all things, not seeking his own profit, but the profit of the many" (chap. x. 32, 33). He shows us how to combine the utmost rigour, the most uncompromising thoroughness of principle with a tender sensitiveness to the prejudices of unenlightened minds or timid souls, and with the most generous spirit of concession and accommodation to the moral necessities of others. He teaches us that if we are strong indeed, and our strength is the strength of Christ in

us, it must be shown in the patience with which we bear the infirmities of others, and not in the wilfulness with which we please ourselves at their expense. For the sake of the young and the weak around us, our liberty must be often, and in many things, a liberty of abstinence rather than of use, a liberty to self-denial, not to self-indulgence. If we "destroy him with our meat for whom Christ died," if we knowingly "wound weak consciences" by a freedom which they cannot understand and which tempts them into moral peril, then, he would have us understand, we "sin against Christ," and must answer for it at His judgment-seat.

In both passages the apostle's argument culminates in one ultimate appeal, in the face of which every sinful licence, or doubtful indulgence, or rash, uncharitable use of liberty, stands solemnly and finally condemned. He invokes the supreme imperative of religion, which Christianity seeks to make the all-pervading law of life: "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

St. Paul's treatment of the above topics might furnish a suitable standpoint from which to consider philosophically the relations of duty and expediency, the honestum and the utile in morals; and from which to attempt their adjustment. It may be worth while, at any rate, without venturing on so large a task, to point out in a few words the position which he appears to take in regard to this great discussion.

He distinguishes emphatically between that which is intrinsically right or wrong (in itself, and always, to all men), and that which is so extrinsically and relatively (to me or thee, situated thus or thus). The ground of the absolutely right he finds at once in the declared law of God, and in the proper nature of man; or (including both definitions) in the divine end of human life. Here lie those primary, constitutional moralities, wrought into the very fibre and framework of our being, which it is treason alike against God and the soul to

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 9-13.

question; and which, however much they are defied and outraged, never fail to avenge themselves, both on society and on the individual transgressor. But while our apostle insists so strongly on essential and à priori morality, at the same time he allows wide scope to the utilitarian principle in Christian He recognises the use of experience, the necessity of judging actions by their consequences, and the large place which Expediency claims to occupy as a guide in the conduct Bentham himself is not more shrewd in the application of the utilitarian calculus than St. Paul. these moralists make the practical welfare of mankind the standard by which to judge of the usefulness, and therefore the rightness, of contingent action. St. Paul's criterion, "the profit of the many, that they may be saved," is parallelthough at how great a distance—to Bentham's "greatest happiness of the greatest number." They differ—and differ toto cœlo-in that the Christian apostle finds within the sphere of the contingent and experimental an inner realm of absolute and immutable righteousness, by its relation to which the whole of the outer circle of the contingently moral is governed and determined. This inner region is the province of the moral Reason or Conscience proper (Kant's Pure Practical Reason): the outer field belongs to the moral Judgment, the judgment moralized by the action of the indwelling conscience. The two regions may be distinguished as forming the higher and lower, the primary and secondary, the direct and indirect moralities of life. Between them they cover the whole of human conduct. Righteousness is the ideal of the first; Expediency, as subordinate to Righteousness, is the sub-ideal which governs the second.

Differing as to the criterion of moral conduct, the Christian apostle and the modern philosopher are entirely at variance in

¹ This expression is borrowed from A Treatise on the Moral Ideals (Bell & Sons, 1876), by the late Professor John Grote, a singularly fair-minded and luminous philosophical teacher.

regard to the summum bonum, the true well-being of mankind. The latter finds it in pleasure; the former in character. And so, on the Benthamite theory, the right depends upon the useful, which in the last analysis becomes the pleasure-giving; in the Pauline teaching, the useful depends upon the right, and is therefore the soul-saving.

The distinction between the directly and indirectly moral, so fundamental in St. Paul's ethical philosophy, corresponds in its content with that between persons and things. former he regards, with Kant, as "ends in themselves;" the latter as "means" only, having a moral value relative to the personal ends which they subserve. And he bids us use the non-moral elements of life only in such a way as to promote to the utmost those moral interests in which alone personal well-being consists. St. Paul would certainly have endorsed the maxim of the great German transcendentalist: "So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of any other, in every case as an end withal, never as a means His own maxim, "Do all to the glory of God," is indeed the complement and the corrective of this. perfection of man and the glory of God are, in the Christian view, ends that coincide. The unity of God and man in Jesus Christ is the proof that a perfect manhood and a full conformity to the will of God are ideals united and inseparable. And they claim for their realization the whole of human life and of human history.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

¹ See, e.g., 1 Cor. i. 8; Col. i. 22, 28; Eph. i. 4.

STUDIES IN THE MINOR PROPHETS.

JOEL.

III .- The Day of the Lord.

WE are now prepared, having studied the background of contemporary facts on which the prophecy of Joel is set forth, to look more closely into the leading features which characterize the language of the book. We must expect that it will be pervaded throughout with the symbolism derived from natural events and a providential visitation, which are distinctly emphasized by the prophet as steeped with special divine significance. But we are immediately confronted with a bold metaphor, to which we are accustomed as students of Scripture, as it stands out more or less clearly through the whole volume of Revelation, but which became from the time of Joel the leading note in all the prophetic messages. that the prophets threaten and predict, all their warnings and appeals, concentrate the lines of divine purpose and agency towards a meeting-place of righteous judgment, which at the same time shall be the vindication of a perfect righteousness, and the bright revelation of the mystery of love "hidden from ages and generations." Joel stands like a herald on the mountain-top of his inspired vision and hails the streak of light upon the horizon. Behold, he says, "the day of the Lord"! What did he mean? What did succeeding prophets mean by such a proclamation? That we may fully understand this "burden of the word of the Lord," let us, first, put together the language of this first of the written prophecies, and then examine the scriptural foundation on which the messenger stood in the use of such language. Thus we shall be able to appreciate both its special significance as addressed

to the people of Judah and the widening of its application which, as we follow the course of revelation, becomes a conspicuous fact, until at last it unfolds itself into the whole extent of the apocalyptic horizon.

The first introduction of the term "the day of the Lord" occurs in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, after what seems a general summons to "a fast and solemn assembly of the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the Lord," in the presence of the distress and mourning brought upon the people by the visitation of the locusts. "Alas for the day! for the day of Jehovah is near, and it comes like violence from the Almighty!" It has been observed by Keil that these are not words to be put into the mouths of the priests and others when they gathered in the temple, but they are the words of the prophet himself. about to make such a foresight of the great day the text of his prophecy. Hence we find that while the facts of that time of visitation are kept vividly before the people, their minds are lifted up to much higher thoughts. The first chapter concludes with a review of the agricultural losses and the consequent misery and desolation involved, but goes no further than a moral and spiritual application of such external events, and a call to the nation to fasting, and prayer, and repent-But the second chapter opens with a much more pronounced warning that greater events are at hand, and that this day of the Lord's judgment presages mighty revelations of His righteousness, at which all should tremble. trumpet" is the symbol frequently employed after the time of Joel to wake the slumbering minds of the nation to great predictions. Hosea (v. 8) employs the same figure: "Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah, and the trumpet in Ramah." scarcely be doubted that the meaning is to call special attention to what follows, which while not an allegory, as we have already observed, is not a mere repetition of the language of the first chapter, not a mere description of the destruction wrought by the visitation of locusts, but a

pictorial representation, under the symbolism of the agricultural plague, of a great season of national calamity, indeed we may say of calamity to the whole of the twelve tribes, an army sent by Jehovah to execute His judgments. the language is familiar, it is well to keep it immediately before us: "Blow ye the trumpet upon Zion, and cause it to sound upon my holy mountain! All the inhabitants of the land shall tremble; for the day of Jehovah cometh, for it is A day of darkness and obscurity, a day of clouds and cloudy night; like morning dawn spread over the mountains, a people great and strong: there has not been the like from all eternity, nor will there be after it even to the years of generation and generation. Before it burneth fire, and behind it flameth flame: the land before it as the garden of Eden, and behind it like a desolate wilderness; and even that which escaped did not remain to it. Like the appearance of horses is its appearance; and like riding horses, so do they run. Like rumbling of chariots on the tops of the mountains do they leap, like the crackling of flame which devours stubble, like a strong people equipped for conflict. Before it nations tremble, all faces withdraw their redness. They are like heroes, like warriors they climb the wall; every one goes on its way and they do not change their paths. And they do not press one another, they go every one in his path; and they fall headlong through weapons, and do not cut themselves in pieces. They run about in the city, they run upon the wall, they climb into the houses, they come through the windows like a thief. Before it the earth quakes, the heavens tremble: sun and moon have turned black, and the stars have withdrawn their shining. And Jehovah thunders before His army, for His camp is very great, for the executor of His word is strong: for the day of Jehovah is great and very terrible: and who can endure it?" (ii. 1-11). Then follows the call to deep and true repentance, and the gracious promise that the visit of mercy shall follow the visit of judgment. But the day of the Lord having been once announced, it is

repeated as the burden of all prophecy. The promise that "afterward," that is, at some distant time, in the latter days, the Lord shall pour out of His Spirit upon all flesh, prepares the way for a much larger prospect of the predicted Day of "I will give wonders in the heavens and on Judgment. earth, blood, fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall turn into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of Jehovah, the great and terrible day" (ii. 30, 31). The third chapter, which it is not necessary to quote, amplifies the description of judgment. We have the vision of international strife and conflict, in which the Lord at once punishes His own people for their unfaithfulness, and rescues the true Israel out of the grasp of the heathen. "The nations are to rise up, and come into the valley of Jehoshaphat (of the Lord's judgment), for there shall I sit to judge all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, tread, for the winepress is full, the vats overflow; for their wickedness is great. Tumult, tumult, in the valley of decision; for the day of Jehovah is near in the valley of decision. and moon have become black, and the stars have withdrawn their And Jehovah roars out of Zion, and He thunders shining. out of Jerusalem; and heaven and earth quake; but Jehovah is a refuge to His people, and a stronghold to the sons of Israel." Now it will be evident that this repetition of nearly the same language is a natural feature of the prophecy, because it is a concentric progress from the narrow sphere of a merely temporary and local visitation to the whole breadth Keil, whose rendering of the Hebrew we have of the world. adopted, has very correctly described the object which was before the prophet's eye as he looked more and more intently on the prospect. "The day of Jehovah is the great day of judgment upon all ungodly powers, when God, as the Almighty Ruler of the world, brings down and destroys everything that has exalted itself against Him, thus making the history of the world, through His rule over all creatures in heaven and earth, into a continuous judgment, which will conclude at the

end of this course of the world with a great and universal act of judgment, through which everything that has been brought to eternity by the stream of time unjudged and unadjusted, will be judged and adjusted once for all, to bring to an end the whole development of the world in accordance with its divine appointment, and perfect the kingdom of God by the annihilation of all its foes." (Com. Minor Proph. vol. i. p. 187, Clark's translation.)

Let us now look back from the standpoint of the prophet, and trace what we may call the genealogy of this leading idea, which was henceforth the most conspicuous feature in all prophecy, the onward progress of human history to its climax, the great day of the Lord.

The Bible which was in the hands of Joel's contemporaries, eight hundred years before Christ, certainly included the Pentateuch, the Books of Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, and some at least of the historical books. There would be abundance in such a collection of Scriptures to prepare the minds of their readers for the messages of judgment which were brought to them. The main facts of the history of the world were there up to the time when Israel became a nation. They were so described in the Books of Genesis and Exodus that the whole may be regarded as apocalyptic. "unveiling" of the divine King and Judge is the object of the first book of the Bible as well as of the last. The short history of Paradise closes with a scene of judgment. separation of Cain and Abel broadens into the opposition of the children of God and the children of wrath. The history between Adam and Noah culminates in the judgment of the flood. And then follows the unfolding of the divine purpose in the selection of the Abrahamic family, which by its own annals as well as by its position in the midst of the nations witnesses to the divine righteousness, and to the divine order of the world. Egypt is judged. Out of the climax to which the opposition between the Church and the world rose in the conflict between Moses and Pharaoh, the new beginning of

the Abrahamic family was developed. And henceforth the history of Israel is the history of the kingdom of God in the midst of the kingdoms of this world. All this must have been patent to the readers of the Old Testament, and no doubt was much insisted upon by the prophets. The ministry of Elijah and of Elisha, and the remarkable mission of Jonah, brought out the critical nature of the theocracy into very vivid prominence. It was no difficult thing for Joel to preach the certainty and inevitableness of judgment. But how was it that the distinct conception of the day of the Lord was reached? The answer is not far to seek. We find it in the earliest books with more or less decision. The use of the term "day" to denote a period of manifestation or completion (as distinguished from "night," or from "evening," as a period of disorder or preparation), is the characteristic of the Mosaic It is used throughout the Pentateuch with cosmogony. In Deuteronomy we are led up to the similar breadth. climax of a divine consummation in the benedictions of Moses (chap. xxxii., xxxiii.), as in Genesis in the benediction of Jacob; and the Mosaic words no doubt continued ringing in the ears of Israel through all the remainder of their history. "To me belongeth vengeance and recompense." "I, even I, am He, and there is no god with me; I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand. For I lift up my hand to heaven and say, I live for ever. If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgment, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me" (Deut. xxxii. 39-41). God was the judge of all the earth to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 25), and so He was to His people in every age. In the poetical books, Job, the Psalms, and Proverbs, we have not only the general idea of divine judgment, but we have the particular phraseology which became common in the prophets. The Book of Ecclesiastes, if it was really Solomon's, confirms this familiar use of the doctrine of divine retribution. In the opening scene of the

sublime poem which throughout is an exaltation of the throne of God above the confusions and perplexities of human history and thoughts, "a day" is spoken of "when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." In contrast with that day in the presence of Jehovah, there are the days of earthly calamity and distress, and the days of Job's evil life. But as the poem proceeds, the idea of a day of judgment is more and It is "the latter day, when the more clearly evoked. Redeemer shall stand on the earth" (Job xix. 25). It is the day of divine wrath, when the wicked shall receive "his portion from God, and the heritage appointed to him by God" (Job "The wicked is reserved to the day of xx. 28. 29). destruction and the day of wrath" (xxi. 30). There are many very similar instances in the Psalms, in which the day of vengeance and wrath is distinctly represented as a day of divine manifestation, when the glory of God's people shall be The teaching of such Psalms as the second, the fortysixth, eighty-second, eighty-third, ninety-fourth, ninety-seventh, the hundred and tenth, and the hundred and forty-ninth, could scarcely be obscure. The whole bearing of the Book of Psalms is indicated in that which is intended to be a kind of preface, viz. the first Psalm, in which the judgment is proclaimed, before which "the wicked shall be driven away like chaff, and the way of the ungodly shall perish." Then, again, we have in such expressions as "the day of Jerusalem" (Ps. cxxxvii. 7), "The Lord shall laugh at him, for He seeth that his day is coming" (Ps. xxxvii. 13), and many others like them, the clear indication of direct retribution on individuals and nations. The teaching of the Book of Proverbs is very The general truth of a divine order vindicating emphatic. itself in the work is there prominently before the people in sayings which we may suppose were "familiar in their mouth as household words." "The wise shall inherit glory: but shame shall be the promotion of fools." "The path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto

the perfect day. The way of the wicked is as darkness, they know not at what they stumble." "The Lord hath made all things for Himself: yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." "The great God that formed all things both rewardeth the fool and rewardeth transgressors." But we miss in the Book of Proverbs the specific designation of a day of future judgment, when the inequalities of the present state shall be rectified. The wise sayings which are there collected together seem to be intended rather to enforce the reality and faithfulness of a righteous government during the present life than to point onward to the future. It is different with the Book of There the enigma of human life is vividly Ecclesiastes. portrayed. The perplexities of the heart and conscience are both expressed and bewailed. The background of the preacher's discourse is the day of judgment. The human, with its apparent inconsistencies and contradictions, rests on the divine, with its perfection and eternity. "I know that whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it: and God doeth it, that men should fear before Him. That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past. And, moreover, I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there. I said in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work." The whole lesson of the book is "Consider the work of God," look away from that which is only "vanity and vexation of spirit," so long as there is no light from heaven upon it, and set your "The righteous and the wise and their heart upon God. works are in the hand of God." "Know then that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." "Remember thy Creator." "The dust shall return to the earth as it was: the spirit shall return to God who gave it." "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: fear God, and keep His commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.

God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil" (Eccles. xii. 13, 14).

While the doctrine of a great day of judgment was thus taught in Scripture, it must be remembered that the history of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel had been for two hundred years full of most striking instances of divine retri-The ministry of the great prophets Elijah and Elisha was specially adapted to exhibit in signs and miracles directly from God the stedfastness of the divine order, the certainty that rebellion would be judged and punished. Such facts as the destruction of Baalism and of the wicked Queen Jezebel in Israel, and the scattering of the Syrian army besieging Samaria, together with the whole bearing of the prophetic testimony on behalf of Jehovah as against the idolatry and indifference of the northern tribes, and the similar vindication of divine righteousness in Judah in the times immediately preceding the ministry of Joel, by the rescue of the throne from the usurpation of Athaliah, must have prepared the way for a proclamation of judgment. But as yet the cup of iniquity was not full. It was rapidly filling in the case of They were already within the century which the ten tribes. could be signalized by their ruin. But Joel was sent to Judah, and there were still some signs of hope remaining in The work of Jehoshaphat had not been in vain. Jerusalem. It was the mission of the prophet to wake up the slumbering minds of the people that they might learn righteousness, while it was yet possible to avert the day of evil. He is not appointed to speak as clearly and precisely as some of his successors concerning what was coming on his people. Mr. Maurice has remarked in his sermon on Joel. "The exceeding vividness of his descriptions when he is treating of the actual miseries of his land, whether they come from a flight of locusts or from human marauders, compared with the dimness of his language respecting the approaching crisis, -dimness which is compatible with the most perfect confidence as to its result, -instructs us respecting the character of prophecy itself. He prepares us for those who follow God will not bring on the terrible conflict till He has poured out of His Spirit on His servants and His handmaidens" (Prophets and Kings, p. 189), But it is of the utmost importance to our understanding the method of divine grace that we should notice the fact that Joel, the first of the succession of prophets whose messages were put on record and circulated, as no doubt they were, amongst the people from generation to generation, lays so much stress on the prediction of a great "day of the Lord." The visitations of Providence might produce a passing repentance without carrying deeply into the heart of the nation the sense of its degeneracy and danger. What was wanted was that they should be filled with the conviction that things were working up to a climax, that when that climax came it would be very awful and overwhelming, that it might be avoided by sincere and entire reformation, but that it travelled on to meet them with all the stedfastness of time itself, as day followed day, coming up to the horizon out of the abyss of night. We know that the destroying agencies were already in preparation. The great military powers of Mesopotamia were like storm-clouds hovering in the sky, as yet indeed a mere streak, which might be dissipated into nothingness, but which, in a hundred years, will burst in fury on Israel. It is very instructive to trace the growth of distinctness and vividness in the prophetic language as the day of that judgment approaches. A few instances, which will illustrate this progressive portraiture of the day of the Lord, will serve to show the more exactly what was Joel's special part in that work of gracious preparation of the world for the issues divinely ordered; a work which we shall understand, in its application to ourselves, just as we appreciate it in its connection with the individual prophet and the circumstances of his individual ministry.

The Book of Amos in all probability followed closely upon

that of Joel. A glance over it is quite sufficient to discover the contrast between its more specific language and the broad predictions of judgment in Joel. The fire of destruction is threatened on surrounding nations, Syria, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. The lightnings are flashing about At last they fall upon the sacred city itself: · Jerusalem. " I will send fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem" (Amos ii. 5). With prolonged description and most touching lamentations and appeals the judgment upon Israel is foretold, and they are summoned to "prepare to meet their God." The destruction of the land is portrayed, and it is foretold as a captivity. "Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus, saith the Lord, whose name is the Lord of Hosts." "Behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord, the God of Hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of the wilderness" (Amos v. 27, vi. 14). When the king Jeroboam threatened the prophet for his plain speaking, not only did he repeat his prediction, but he repeated it yet more solemnly: "The sinful nation should be destroyed from off the face of the earth." house of Israel should be sifted among all nations, though the true grain shall not be lost and the captivity of Israel shall be restored (chap. ix. 8-15). But still, though Amos spoke very distinctly of destruction coming upon Israel by invasion, he did not predict the quarter from which the invasion would come. It was left for the prophet Hosea, who immediately followed Amos, to speak still more openly of the agents of the judgment. At the very commencement of his prophecy he declares that "the Lord will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel" (i. 4). shall be cast out, and for a time cease to be a people. "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim" (iii. 4). They will appeal in vain to Egypt and

Assyria (vii. 11). The very place of their captivity and the name of their conqueror are mentioned. " They shall not dwell in the Lord's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt (that is, to a bondage like the Egyptian bondage), and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria" (ix. 8). "Their glory shall also be carried unto Assyria for a present to king Jareb" (x. 6). "Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children. So shall Beth-el do unto you because of your great wickedness: in a morning shall the king of Israel utterly be cut off" (x. 14, 15). "He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king" (xi. 5). After such plain speaking the subsequent prophets had simply to enforce the appeal to repentance and the promise of mercy. At the same time the judgments which were threatened upon Judah were delayed, and the warning which the fate of Israel would bring home to the southern tribes was taken up and amplified by Micah and Isaiah, while the larger extent of the judgment was very vividly portrayed especially by Isaiah, and the promise of deliverance was a very bright rainbow on the cloud. It must strike even the most superficial reader of the Book of Micah that the intention of the prophet is not so much to depict the character of the judgment which was coming upon Israel and Judah, as to set over against the threatened destruction the prospect of deliverance. The nature of the invasion that was coming was by that time fully understood. Micah laments over it, and proclaims it against Judah as well as against Israel, especially in rebuke of the false prophets, who would turn the people away from the word of the Lord; but amidst the heaviest woes the voice of comfort is heard: "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me." The vision of judgment opens the book: "For, behold, the Lord cometh out of His place, and will come down, and tread upon the high

places of the earth. And the mountains shall be molten under Him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, and as the waters that are poured down a steep place." "Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth end is mercy. iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of His heritage?" etc. (vii. 18-20). Isaiah took up this double note from Micah. The day should be at last revealed when the glory of the Lord should cover the earth, and all the darkness of heathenism should be cast out. It is a great advance But the time represented was comparafrom Joel to Isaiah. tively short, not so much more than fifty years. Thus in the course of two generations the people had before them the full They could not deny that the day of the tide of prophecy. Lord was already in the sky; they saw it approaching; and as time went on they witnessed the fulfilment of its threatenings. Thus the promise which the prophet Joel records began to be realized in himself, that the Spirit of God should be poured out upon the people before the great and notable day should It has always been so. Before any great climax of judgment there have been visions and dreams vouchsafed to the more earnest and humble of God's children. And as the terrible time has approached the words of the prophets have multiplied, they have been more distinct, they have been more solemn, they have been more reproachful, they have been more pitiful. After the restoration of the Jews from their captivity they fell again into a state of spiritual degeneracy, not by the sin of idolatry, but by the growth of Rabbinism and self-righteousness. They once more denied their vocation, and fell into the hands of the heathen. the prophet reappeared. The voice was heard in the wilderness, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. And as Joel was followed by Amos and Hosea, Micah and Isaiah, so the prophet of the wilderness was followed by the Messiah, and the day of Pentecost preceded the great and terrible day when the Lord came to Jerusalem.

R. A. REDFORD.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.

In the Epistle of St. Jude we read (ver. 9): "Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgment, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." Hereupon two questions arise. Whence did the apostle derive the story to which he refers? And what was the occasion of the dispute? To the latter question a conjectural answer alone can be given. Taking into consideration the circumstances of the burial of Moses, we see that it was intended to be a secret transaction. The Lord, we are told (Deut. xxxiv. 6), "buried him in a valley of the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." Doubtless there was a good reason for this secrecy. The proneness of the Jews to idolatry, the likelihood that the body of their great leader might become an object of worship, even as the brazen serpent drew their hearts away in later time, the tendency to follow the creature-worship and to pay that undue reverence to relics which they had seen in Egypt,these considerations may have led to the concealment of the body of Moses. And the devil wished to frustrate this purpose. He saw an opportunity of using the mortal remains of Moses to draw away the Israelites from true religion. would have no mystery about the burial. The people should be shown their leader's resting-place; of the result he had no doubt whatever. And Michael, the appointed guard of the grave, as the Targum says, resisted this evil attempt of Satan, and firmly carried out the purpose of God. Using the words

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¹ An attempt has been made to read 'Inco instead of Maricius, and to refer the occurrence to Zech. iii. 2; but there is no authority whatever for such change of the text.

which God Himself had employed when the wicked spirit endeavoured to withstand His act of clothing Joshua, the high priest, in festal garments (Zech. iii.), Michael answered, "The Lord rebuke thee." And in the unknown spot the body rested; or, at any rate, it was seen no more till it appeared to the wondering three on the Mount of Transfiguration fourteen hundred years later.

The former question, as to the origin of the narrative to which St. Jude refers, is answered by Origen, who intimates that it is derived from a book which he calls "The Ascension of Moses," 'Ανάληψις Μώσεως. That St. Jude should refer to a work current in his day, though not appertaining to the canon of Holy Scripture, is quite supposable, as there is good ground for believing that in another place (ver. 14) he cites the apocryphal Book of Enoch. The existence of this Assumption or Ascension of Moses is testified by many other early In the remarkable use of the word $\mu\epsilon\sigma i\tau\eta s$ in the writers. Epistle to the Galatians (iii. 19) some have seen a reference to, or evidence of acquaintance with, our book. Certainly the term is applied to Moses in the first chapter, where the dying lawgiver says: "Itaque excogitavit et invenit me, qui ab initio orbis terrarum præparatur sum ut sim arbiter testamenti Referring to this, and having the Greek original before him, Gelasius of Cyzicum² gives the latter words of

² Comment. Act. Syn. Nic. ii. 18. (Mansi, Concil. ii. p. 844.) The passage in Heb. ix. 15 is translated in Cod. Claromont. "et ideo novi testamenti arbiter est," where the Vulgate has "mediator."

¹ De Princ. iii. 2. 1: "In Genesi serpens Evam seduxisse describitur, de quo in Adscensione Mosis, cujus libelli meminit in Epistola sua Apostolus Judas, 'Michael archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de corpore Mosis,' ait a Diabolo impiratum serpentem causam exstitisse prævaricationis Adæ et Evæ." Opp. i. 138. The title of the work is given as Assumtio Moysis, sometimes as Ascensio or Receptio M., both being translations of the Greek ἐνάληψις M., and this not in the sense of ascension of body and soul, as in the case of Christ, but with the meaning that while his body was buried his soul was conveyed by angels to heaven. Moses himself in one passage (Assumt. x. 14) speaks of sleeping with his fathers, and in another dates an event from his reception ("a receptione mea," x. 12). More indefinitely it is termed "Secreta M." (Didym.), and βιβλία ἐπόκρυφα M. (Const. Apost.).

Moses as είναι με της διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην. But we cannot lay much stress on the use of this expression, as it is employed in this connection by Philo 1 and the Rabbinical authors, and was probably applied to Moses by writers antecedent to Christianity in agreement with Deut. v. 5, where he says: "I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to show you the word of the Lord." It is also asserted that Clemens Romanus quotes our book when, speaking of Moses (xvii. 5), he says: "He, though greatly honoured, magnified not himself, but answered when the revelation was made to him at the bush, 'Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.' And again he saith: 'I am as smoke from the pottery.'"2 The last clause is deemed by Hilgenfeld to be cited from the Assumption. This is possible, but the existing fragments do not contain it. The earliest reference which can be relied on is found in the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, who, describing the death of Moses, says it is probable that Joshua saw Moses in twofold form when he was taken up (ἀναλαμβανόμενον), one with the angels, and one honoured with burial in the valley. curious opinion is shared by Origen,4 who asserts that in a certain uncanonical book mention is made of two Moses' being seen, one alive in the spirit, the other dead in the body. Evodius, a contemporary of St. Augustine, has the same gloss, derived from the same source: "When he ascended the mountain to die, the power of his body brought it to pass, that there should be one body to commit to earth, and another

^{. 1} Vit. Mos. iii. 19: ola preiene nai diaddanene. Vol. ii. p. 160 M.

^{2 &#}x27;Pγω δί εἰμι ἀσμὶς ἀπὸ κύθρας. Lightfoot's references to Jas. iv. 14 and Hos. xiii. 3 are not satisfactory.

³ Strom. vi. 15 (p. 806, Potter).

⁴ In Libr. Jesu Nave, Hom. ii. 1: "Denique et in libello quodam, licet in canone non habeatur, mysterii tamen hujus figura describitur. Refertur enim quia duo Moses videbantur, unus vivus in spiritu, alius mortuus in corpore."

⁵ Augustin. *Ep.* 158 (ii. p. 426, Ben.): "Quamquam et in apocryphis et in secretis ipsius Moysi, quæ scriptura caret auctoritate, tunc cum ascenderet in montem ut moreretur, vi corporis efficitur ut aliud esset quod terræ mandaretur, aliud quod angelo comitanti sociaretur."

to be the companion of his attendant angel." Another legend. traced to the same origin,1 recounts how at Moses' death a bright cloud so dazzled the eyes of the bystanders that they saw neither when he died nor where he was buried. writers give a different reason for the dispute with Michael from that suggested above, still, however, referring to the tradition contained in "The Assumption." Thus Œcumenius² writes, that the archangel took charge of Moses' body, but the devil claimed it as his own, being the body of a murderer in that he had killed the Egyptian; and an old Scholion on the passage in St. Jude adds: "that it was when Satan asserted this claim and blasphemed, Michael replied, 'The Lord rebuke thee.'" Epiphanius 4 gathers from this book how the angels buried the body of Moses without washing it, for they had no need to wash it; nor were they defiled by contact with so holy and pure a Didymus of Alexandria,5 who lived in the fourth century A.D., informs us that some persons in his day raised an objection against the Epistle of St. Jude, as also against The Assumption of Moses, on account of the passage concerning the dispute with Satan; just as, according to Jerome,6 the same Epistle was rejected for its reference to the Mention is made of The apocryphal Book of Enoch. Assumption in some catalogues of the books of Scripture. Thus in the catalogue of Nicephorus it is placed, with the Book of Enoch, The Testimonies of the Patriarchs, and some others, among the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; and reference is made to it in the so-called Synopsis of Athanasius.

³ In Ep. Jud. p. 340.

4 Haeres. ix. p. 28.

6 Catal. Script. Ecclesiast.

¹ Caten. in Pent. ap. Fabric. Cod. Pseud. ep. V. T. ii. p. 121.

³ Caten. in Ep. Cath. ed. Cramer, Oxon. 1840.

⁵ In Ep. Jud. enarrat. (vi. p. 326, Galland. B. Patr.): "Licet adversarii hujus contemplationis præscribunt præsenti epistolæ et Moyseos Assumtioni propter eum locum ubi significatur verbum archangeli de corpore Moysis ad angelum factum."

Apollinaris says: "It is to be noted that in the times of Moses there were also other books, which are now apocryphal, as evident from the Epistle of Jude, where he teaches about the body of Moses, and where he cites as from ancient Scripture the passage, 'Behold, the Lord cometh,'" etc. the Acts of the Second Nicene Council² some passages are cited from the Analepsis which are not now extant. we read that in the dispute with Satan, Michael said: "Of His Holy Spirit we all were formed;" and again: "From the face of God went forth His Spirit, and the world was made." Another fragment of the same Acts already mentioned gives the chief contents of the work: "Moses the prophet, when he was about to depart from life, as it is written in the Book of The Assumption of Moses, called Joshua unto him, and spake, saying: 'God looked upon me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His covenant." The Apostolical Constitutions mention among those that are without the canon "The apocryphal Books of Moses,"4 referring doubtless to our work. It seems also certain that it was well known to the Rabbinical writers, who raised a crop of legends on its foundation.⁵

Thus we see that The Assumption of Moses was a book known and quoted up to the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era. But from that time till some twenty years ago it has been wholly lost. Commentators on St. Jude were forced to content themselves with a vague reference to this unknown composition; and the words of Dean Stanley in Dr. Smith's

¹ Niceph. Catena, i. 1313. Lips. 1772.

² Comm. Act. Conc. Nic. ii. 20: is βίβλφ 'Αναλήψιως Μώσιως Μιχαήλ ὁ ἀρχάγγιλος διαλιγόμινος τῷ διαβόλφ λίγιι' ἀπὸ γὰρ πνιύματος ἀγίου αὐτοῦ πάντις ἐπτίσθημιν. καὶ πάλις λίγιι' ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θιοῦ ἰξῆλθι τὸ πνιῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἰγίνιτο. Το this the Philosopher answers: Πιρὶ ἢ τῆς ἐρκίως 'Αναλήψιως Μωϊσίως, πιρὶ ῆς ἀρτίως εἰρήκατε, οἰδὶ ἀκήκοὰ ποτι τὶ μὴ νῦν, ἔθιν αἰτῶ ὑμᾶς σαφιστίραν μω τῶν λιχθίντων παραστάσαι τὴν σύστασιν. Mansi, Concil. ii. 857. These and other passages from ancient writers are cited by Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and Fritzsche, in their editions of the book.

C. xviii. p. 28.
 Βιβλία ἀπόπρυψα Μωῦσίως.

b Volkmar, Mose Prophetie u. Himmelfahrt, p. 10.

Dictionary of the Bible (art. "Moses"), written in 1863, accurately represent the amount of acquaintance with the subject possessed by most people. Speaking of the passage in Jude, he concludes thus: "It probably refers to a lost apocryphal book mentioned by Origen, The Ascension or Assumption of Moses. All that is known of this book is given by Fabricius, Codex Pseud. ep. V. T. i. 830-844." ments, however, printed by Fabricius are very insignificant, and quite insufficient to give any idea of the character and contents of the work. But Dr. Stanley was unconsciously inaccurate when he made the statement just mentioned. Already in 1861 A. M. Ceriani, the learned librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, had published a Latin version of a large portion of The Assumption which he had found in a palimpsest of the sixth century.1 It is curious that nearly forty years previously Amedeus Peyron had edited from the same manuscript some hitherto unknown orations of Cicero,2 but "The Assumption" remained still undiscovered. It was therefore with the utmost satisfaction that the learned world received the news that fresh fragments of this apocryphal work had been suddenly disinterred. The MS., indeed, was corrupt and imperfect, and in places illegible; but these circumstances only augmented the interest which was centred upon it. Here was a nodus which demanded solution at the hands of scholars. "Liber enim," as Erasmus says,3 "prodigiosis mendis undique scatens, crux est verius quam liber." discovery appears to have passed almost unnoticed in England, but in Germany it stirred the minds of savants with an excitement as great as that lately aroused by "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Professors set themselves the task of correcting, explaining, and supplying the gaps in the very imperfect publication of Ceriani. First Hilgenfeld,

Monumenta Sacra. Tom. I. Fasc. i. Mediol. 1861.
 Ciceronis Orationes. Stutg. et Tübing. 1824.

³ Ep. 1203, vol. iii. p. 1420.

with the aid of other scholars, put forth a critical edition1 containing a corrected text, which threw much light on the many dark places, and afforded a readable whole. A year or two later he took the pains to translate the Latin into Greek. no very difficult task, as the version had been most slavishly rendered from the original, retaining everywhere Greek phraseology and often Greek words. This he published with Then Volkmar² printed a neat little edition valuable notes. with a German translation and commentary. followed by that of Schmidt and Merx,3 whose conjectures and corrections are remarkable rather for audacity than Fritzsche,4 the last editor, speaks somewhat probability. slightingly of his predecessors' labours, but has largely availed himself of them. In his very useful edition he prints on one page the text as originally published by Ceriani, and on the opposite side gives an amended text with the lucunæ mostly supplied, and with copious critical notes. The work has never, I believe, been published in England.

Whether The Assumption was originally written in Hebrew cannot now be determined.⁵ It is evident that it was known only in a Greek form to those early writers who mention it; and it is also certain from internal evidence that the Latin version which has survived was made from the Greek and not the Hebrew. The use of such words as "prophetiæ," "scene testimonii," "allophyli," proves this incontestably. The Latin of the translation is beyond measure barbarous and anomalous,

¹ In his Novum Testamentum extra Canon. Lips. 1866. Afterwards in Messias Judworum. Lips. 1869. And in his Zeitschr. for 1868, etc.

² Handbuch d. Einl. in d. Apokr., vol. iii., and separately under the title of Mose Prophetic und Himmelfahrt. Leipz. 1867.

³ Archiv. für wissensch. Erforsch. des A. T. Halle 1868.

⁴ Libri Apocryph. Vet. Test. Lips. 1871. He says in his preface: "Arduum sane et magni erat negotii hunc libellum mirum quantum corruptum emendare; feci tamen quod potui. Omnis virorum doctorum consilia, vel etiam commenta et opinionum monstra referre nihil attinuit." P. xxxiv.

⁵ Merx, Schmidt, and Colani assert strongly that the work ws written originally in Aramaic, which they think will account for most of the obscurities of the Latin text. See *Revue de Théologie*, 3e. ser. vol. vi. p. 68.

the vulgar dialect of country peasants, and resembling the old Itala rather than any classical form which we possess. appears, too, to have been transcribed by an ignorant writer, who has accordingly introduced many blunders of his own manufacture. As the MS. came originally from the Abbey of Bobbio, near Pavia, whence also issued the famous Muratorian Canon (the language of which is very similar to that of The Assumption), it was probably copied by one of the inmates of that establishment, "stronger," as Colani says, "in caligraphy than Latin." Of the place and date of the original composition we can form only conjectures. We might do more if we had the whole before us; but, unfortunately, both the beginning and the end are missing. At the commencement probably only a few lines are lost, but at the conclusion a very serious deficiency is to be lamented. Nicephorus states that the original work consisted of 1400 stiches, assigning similar dimensions to the Book of Revelation. We are thus led to the conclusion that little more than half has been preserved, and important passages, wherein some guide to the chronology would naturally have been introduced, are lost or mutilated beyond hope of replacement. Our data, therefore, are much limited, and we possess but scanty foundations on which to construct a theory. With regard to the locality of the treatise, we may at once exclude Alexandria from being its birthplace. The author shows no trace of the Alexandrian school; he never allegorizes, never indulges in mystic speculations, but keeps to pure history, whether he is relating the past or predicting the future. His standpoint is unadulterated Judaism, and there is good reason, as will be seen, for classing him among the Zealots. Hilgenfeld considers that the author was a Jew sojourning at Rome; but his arguments are very far from decisive, and we shall have most critics with us in determining that the work was written in Palestine. author shows such accurate acquaintance with the parties of the Jews in Palestine, and the events which happened there,

that it can scarcely be doubted that he is writing amid the scenes and characters which, under the disguise of prophecy, he depicts, either in Galilee or in the country east of Jordan. where the party of Zealots was strongest. As to the date of the composition, scholars have long had important differences, Wieseler fixing it at 2 B.C., and Volkmar at 135-138 A.D. Between these two extreme dates many variations occur; thus Ewald assigns it to A.D. 6, Hilgenfeld to A.D. 44, Merx to A.D. 54-64. But, in truth, we can only be certain of these facts, that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, of which no mention is made, and before the death of Herod's two sons, Philip and Antipas; for the author predicts for the sons a shorter reign than their father's, which could be said truly of Archelaus alone, for Antipas reigned 43 years, Philip 37, and Herod the Great only 34 years. If we knew accurately the date of St. Jude's Epistle, we might have another criterion; but too much stress must not be laid upon the supposed quotation from The Assumption, as the passage referred to is not extant, and both Jude and Pseudo-Moses may have used some tradition current among the Jews of the period.² On the whole, we shall not be far wrong if we attribute the composition to the early part of the first Christian century, i.e. between A.D. 6, the time of the banishment of Archelaus, and A.D. 33, the date of Philip's death.⁸ Before offering a sketch of the contents of the little work, I will transcribe a few lines of the manuscript with a view of showing its corruptions, and the difficulties that stand in the

¹ Archelaus reigned only nine years, and was then banished by Augustus. The passage of the MS. above referred to is the following: "et . . . roducit natos . . . eccedentes sibi breviora tempora donarent." As treated by Fritzsche the passage reads: "et producet natos, qui succedentes sibi breviora tempora dominarent."

² Some German writers have assigned a very late date to our book, and then have used this assumption as an argument for attributing the Epistle of St. Jude to post-apostolic times. See Volkmar, Mose Prophetic und Himmelfahrt.

³ See Wieseler's article in Jahrh. für Deutsche Theol. xiii. 622 ff., 1868. Of the contents of this article I have gladly made some use in my paper.

way of interpreters. I should premise that the MS. is a palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century, written in two columns to the page, each line containing from twelve to eighteen letters without division of words, and with very rare The following is the commencement of the punctuation. existing fragment: "... qui est bis millesimus et quingentesimus annus a creatura orbis terræ nam secus qui in oriente sunt numerus . . . mus et . . . mus et . . . mus profectionis fynicis cum exivit plebs post profectionem quæ fiebat per moysen usque amman trans iordanem profetiæ quæ facta est a movsen in libro deuteronomio." This passage is thus manipulated by the latest editors: "[Anno Moyseos centesimo et vigesimo] qui est bis millesimus et quingentesimus annus a creatura orbis terræ, nam secus [= secundum eos] qui in oriente sunt numerus est cece mus et vii mus et xxx mus profectionis Phœnices, cum exivit plebs post profectionem quæ fiebat per Moysen usque Amman trans Jordanem, profetiæ factæ sunt a Moyse in libro Deuteronomio." It would lead us too far were we to attempt to solve the many questions which are raised by this brief extract; rather let us confine ourselves to an endeavour to obtain a general view of the contents and object of the work.

The work, as we have it now, is divided into two parts—first, the charge of Moses to Joshua his successor, in which is given a sketch of Jewish history, mingled with prophecies of

¹ A great controversy has been raised over the words "profectionis fynicis." The latter word is explained by the best commentators to be the Greek φωνίπης; but they differ in its interpretation, some contending that "the journey of Phœnicia" means the migration of Canaan, i.e. the Israelites into Egypt; others with more reason affirming that it signifies "the journey into Phœnicia," i.e. the removal of Abraham to Canaan. Certainly Canaan is so called by Eusebius (Præp. Ev. ix. 17. 2): τῶντον διὰ τὰ προστάγματα τῶν Θιοῦ εἰς Φωνίπη ἰλθόντα. Others, again, think that the fabulous bird Phœnix is meant, which is said to have reappeared A.D. 34, and to whose reappearance Mosses' death and revival are compared. Wieseler makes this into an argument for attributing to our book a locality on the east of Jordan, as the Arabians used the Phœnix-period in their computation of dates.

future events up to the restoration of the pure theocracy. This is followed by a humble, self-depreciating speech of Joshua, to which Moses makes an encouraging reply, broken off short by the mutilation of the manuscript, which ends thus: "exivit enim deus qui prævidit omnia in sæcula, et stabilitum est testamentum illius et jurejurando, quod"... The remainder, which gave its name to the work, doubtless contained the account of the death and burial of Moses; but this will probably now be never brought to light.

It will, perhaps, be most satisfactory to give a free translation of part of Moses' speech, adding such remarks as seem to be necessary for its elucidation, or to show its bearing on the Messianic doctrine.1 We must keep in mind the fact (for a fact it seems to be) that the book is written by a partisan of the Pharisaical section of the Zealots, whose standpoint was that no mortal man ought to rule Israel, be he priest or king, of the line of Aaron or of David,-that Jehovah alone is King. This tenet, coupled with an energetic and fanatical zeal for the law, led to the outburst of Judas of Galilee, and to the excesses of the sect in later times. We shall see this ruling dogma continually appearing in The Assump-This, then, is the last charge of the great lawgiver: "The Lord prepared me before the foundation of the world to be the mediator of His covenant. And now that I am about to be gathered to my fathers, I commit to thee this writing, which thou shalt preserve safely 2 unto the day of visitation." This prophecy of Moses was to be kept in the holy place till the last time of judgment. "And now thou shalt lead the people into the land promised to their fathers, and shalt settle them there. And it shall come to pass that after they

¹ I use generally Fritzsche's amended text as the most probable and most available form.

^{2 &}quot;Quos ordinabis et chedriabis"—i.e. πιδρώσεις, "shalt smear with oil of cedar." So πιδρών is used by Diod. Sic. v. 29.

have been in possession for five 1 years, they shall be governed by princes and tyrants 2 eighteen years; and ten tribes shall revolt for nineteen years." The eighteen years represent eighteen rulers, as in the Book of Enoch, viz. fifteen judges ("principes") from Joshua to Samuel, and three kings ("tyranni"). Saul, David, and Solomon; the "nineteen" are the kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. "But two tribes shall come and remove the tabernacle of testimony; and God shall make a resting-place for His sanctuary among them (2 Sam. vi.; 1 Kings viii. 4). And they shall offer victims for twenty years." This refers to the reign of the twenty kings of Judah, including Athaliah. "And seven shall fortify the walls, and nine will I watch over, and they shall maintain the covenant of the Lord." Seven kings improved the condition of the people, viz. Rehoboam, Abia, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah; and nine God defended, viz. Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah. "But the four last kings shall worship false gods, and defile the temple with their idolatries. And then from the East shall come a mighty king (Nebuchadnezzar) who shall destroy the city, and burn the sanctuary, and take their precious things, and carry all the people and the two tribes into captivity. Then the two tribes shall call the ten to repentance, acknowledging the justice of their punishment; and all together shall invoke the God of their fathers, and humbly confess that that chastisement which Moses predicted has righteously fallen upon them. At the end of seven and seventy years one of their princes shall pray for them." This refers to the intercession of Daniel; the seventy years of exile are extended by seven according to the Jewish predilection for that number,

¹ The MS. has a blank where the number ought to be; "V." is supplied from Josh. xiv. 10, and Joseph. Ant. v. 1. 19. Wieseler thinks that the date 2500 A.M. was here repeated.

² "Principibus et tyrannis." In calling them "tyranni" rather than "reges," the seer means to convey his disapproval of this invasion of the pure theocracy.

traces of which we see in Matt. xviii. 22, and in the genealogy of our Lord in St. Luke. "And God shall look upon them, and put it into the heart of the prince (Cyrus) to restore them unto their own country. Some portions of the tribes shall return to their appointed place and rebuild the city walls; but the two tribes alone shall remain true to the Lord, yet lamenting that they are now unable to offer acceptable sacrifices." The notion of the writer is, that the temple having been restored under heathen auspices, the services therein were illegitimate and inefficacious.1 "As for the ten, they shall thrive in the foreign land, and shall some day rejoin the others in the day of restoration.2 And now the times of trial shall draw near,3 and vengeance shall arise because of the wickedness of princes given for their punishment: for ministers who are not priests, but slaves and born of slaves, shall defile the altar; 4 and those who are their doctors of the law shall pervert justice and fill the land with The writer makes no definite reference to the iniquity." 5 persecution of Antiochus or the gallant struggles of the

A similar notion is found in the Book of Enoch, chap. lxxxix. 73, where it is said, in reference to the same period, that "all the bread offered on the table was impure and defiled."

² This is one of the many difficult passages in the work. The MS. gives "et x tribus crescent et devenient apud natos im tempore tribum." "Tribum" plainly ought to be "tribuum;" "apud natos" is = "ad natos, posteros;" and "the time of the tribes" must mean the era of the restoration of Israel. Very different explanations are offered by commentators; the above is substantially that of Fritzsche.

^{3 &}quot;Adpropiabunt tempora arguendi."

⁴ The seer seems here to acknowledge the legitimacy of the worship of the second temple, which he before denied. This is, doubtless, because he considers the Jews as independent under the Maccabees. But this worship was marred by its ministers. "Non sacerdotes, sed servi de servis nati." Thus John Hyrcanus was taunted by the Pharisee Eleazar with being the son of a captive woman, and therefore disqualified for the priesthood (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 10. 5).

⁵ MS.: "Et ideo implebitur colonia et fines habitationis eorum sceleribus." By "colonia," which is frequently used in the book, is probably meant Jerusalem, as though regarded as a settlement among the heathen Jebusites,—Pseudo-Moses taking Joshua's point of view. See Josh. xv. 63; Judg. i. 8, 21. The MS. proceeds: "a domino qui faciunt erunt impii judices inerunt in

Maccabees, but hurries at once to the later time of the decadence of that great family and the consequent corruption of religion and morals. The scribes and Rabbis of the Asmonæans were doubtless Sadducees, to which party John Hyrcanus had attached himself (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 10. 6).

In the view of the seer, which, as I have said, is that of the sect of Zealots, the holy people were to be governed by r.o earthly king, not even by a prince of Jewish birth. Jehovah alone is their Ruler. From this standpoint he regards the rule of the Asmonæan princes as usurping the authority of the Lord. He proceeds: "Soon shall ruling kings ariset1 calling themselves priests of the Most High God, and shall profane even the Holy of Holies. To them shall succeed an insolent king, not of the family of priests, a man rash and shameless,—and he shall judge them as they are worthy. He shall slay their chieftains with the sword, and strangle them in secret places,2 so that their bodies shall not be found; he shall kill old and young, and spare not; and his tyranny shall continue for four and thirty years." This is a fine and true description of Herod the Great, and the notorious cruelties practised in his reign. The mistake concerning the length of the reigns of Herod's sons has been already noticed. "He shall beget sons, who shall reign a shorter time than their father; until a mighty king of the West shall come, and shall utterly defeat the people, lead some away into captivity, crucify others in the city, and burn part of the

campo judicare quomodo quisque uolet." The scribe himself has attempted to correct this unintelligible passage, but without success. Fritzsche reads: "a Domino qui deficiunt erunt impii judices, et erunt in campo judicare quomodo quisque volet." Wieseler: "a deo qui faciunt (those who are on God's side, the Pharisees), erunt impii judices in ea (colonia), a domino qui faciunt (the king's party, the Sadducees), erunt impii judices, hi erunt in eampo, judicare, quomodo quisque volet."

^{1 &}quot;Tunc exurgent illis reges imperantes." This was a grievous reproach in the eyes of a Zealot.

² The MS. has the unintelligible words: "Et locis ignotis singuli et corpora illorum ut nemo sciat ubi sint corpora illorum." For "singuli et," Fritzsche proposes "strangulabit;" Hilgenfeld, "sepeliet."

temple." The mention of the partial destruction of the temple by fire forbids us to see here an allusion to the final conquest of Titus, and compels us to look to another event for an explanation of the prophecy. That event is doubtless the defeat of the Jews by Varus, when, as Josephus narrates, the porticoes or cloisters of the temple were burnt, the sacred treasures plundered, and two thousand of the insurrectionists were ruthlessly crucified.

Up to this point the history has been tolerably clear; but now comes a passage which is most obscure, and has given rise to many interpretations and great controversies.² The seer is evidently speaking with studied ambiguity, and as we do not know what he means by "the last times," nor by what intervals he divides them, it is impossible to arrive at any sure solution of the enigma here presented. He seems to have regarded the victory of Varus as a token of the subjection of Israel to the heathen yoke and the virtual overthrow of the theocracy. "Ex quo facto finientur tempora." "When this shall come to pass the times shall

¹ Bell. Jud. ii. 3. 1 ff.; Ant. xvii. 10. 1 ff.

² As some readers may like to exercise their ingenuity upon this crucial passage, I give it as it stands in the MS., premising that the italics represent the probable letters, now too faint to be deciphered for certainty :- "Ex quo facto finientur tempora momento . . . etur cursus a . . . horæ 'iiii' ueniant coguntur secun . . . ae . . . pos . . . initiis tribus ad exitus 'viiii propter initium tres septimæ secunda tria in tertia duæ h . . . ra . . . tæ." The various attempts to rectify the grammar and to supply the lacunæ in this paragraph may be seen in Fritzsche's note. He himself leaves it as hopeless. The following is Wieseler's version: "Ex quo facto finientur tempora, momento finietur cursus annorum. Horæ iiii venient ; cogentur seculi septimæ (diræ?) postume in initiis tribus ad exitus viiii; propter initium tres septime, secunda trias, in tertia due hore peracte." "Then shall press on the nine last fearful weeks (year-weeks, as in Dan. ix. 24) of the age with three beginnings unto the end; next to the beginning (the subjugation of Judæa by Pompey) are three weeks, a second triad (of year-weeks), in the third triad are two hours accomplished." Pompey took Jerusalem A.U.C. 691; the nine weeks, or 63 years, at the close of which the age shall come to an end, coincide with A.U.C. 754, which is a little after the time of the war of Varus. The insurrection of Judas, which the Jews dignified with this name, occurred A.U.C. 750, the date of our Saviour's birth. An explanation of this mysterious chronology may be seen in Wieseler's article; but it is all guesswork, and more curious than profitable.

In a moment the course of years shall end, when the four hours come." The "four hours" may possibly be the "time, times and an half" of Dan. xii. 7, and the following paragraph probably defines more exactly the various stages of the epoch which culminated in the erection of the supremacy of Rome. More than this we are unable to affirm. Next we have a description of the Herodian princes under Roman rule, and the parties then prevalent: "among them shall reign pestilent and godless men, boasting themselves to be just,1 zealous indeed, but crafty, self-pleasers, hypocrites. These are gluttonous and wine-bibbers; they devour the substance of the poor, saying that they do it for pity's sake; their language is: Let us eat and drink luxuriously as princes. Their hands work iniquity, and their tongue speaketh proud things: Touch me not lest thou defile me."2 One cannot help seeing here a reference to the Herodians, and, in the latter part, to "the scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," who were so sternly denounced by our Lord in St. Matt. xxiii. The first portion of the description applies closely to the Sadducaic faction in Herod's half-pagan court, which really affected the Then falls upon them the doctrine of the Epicureans. punishment of their iniquity: "Lo, then shall come on them a wrath and a vengeance such as never before were seen. A mighty power shall be roused against them; those who confess circumcision shall be crucified, and they who deny

¹ MS.: "docentes (?dicentes) se esse justos." Some commentators see here a reference to the Sadducces and a play on their name, Tsedhûkîm, the Righteous, as they are called in the Mishna.

² Comp. Mark vii. 1 ff. It is noteworthy that a contemporary of our Lord uses very similar terms to those which He employed in censuring these professors of religion. The clause above: "They devour the substance of the poor," etc., is in the MS.: "... rum bonorum come stores dicentes se have facere propter misericordiam." Editors make... rum stand for "pauperum;" it might equally well represent "viduarum," and then the likeness to the clause in Matt. xxiii. 14 would be very remarkable. In both passages the hypocrites are represented as teaching people to spend their substance upon them as putting it to a holy use.

it shall be tortured and imprisoned; their wives shall be given over to the heathen, and their children shall be made uncircumcised. Under pain of fire and sword they shall be compelled to carry the idols of their masters,1 to offer on their altars, and to blaspheme the great name of God." persecution here foreshadowed recalls that under Antiochus Epiphanes.² Is there any parallel to be found within the limits of the period to which we attribute the composition of The Assumption? Colani 8 boldly says there is not, and affirms that the only persecution which answers to the one mentioned in the text, is that which took place under Adrian as a punishment for the rebellion of Barcocheba, A.D. 136. But for an author, writing the history of the Jews (be it in a predictive form), to omit all mention of the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, and to leap at once to the calamities which were consummated by the erection of Ælia Capitolina, is a proceeding so very improbable, that we cannot admit it for a moment. The other alternative (if it be granted Adrian's persecution is meant) would be to endow Pseudo-Moses with the true spirit of prophecy, or at least to allow that he has made a most happy guess at the future, which subsequent events fully justified. Of course, Colani and those who hold his opinion would say that the book was written after A.D. 136; but I have already given reasons for assigning it to a much earlier date, nor does this part of the "prophecy" alter this decision. Evidently the writer wished to announce in striking terms the chastisement which he saw coming upon his nation from heathen Rome. could he better herald this than by recalling to mind the awful cruelties of Epiphanes, and using his acts as a type of the hostility of godless tyrants assailing the fallen Israel? What those cruelties were, and how in many particulars they

^{1 &}quot;Cogentur palam bajulare idola eorum inquinata." Comp. Bar. vi. 4, 26.

² Comp. 1 Macc. i. 22 ff., 43 ff.

² Revue de Théol. p. 75. See also Volkmar, p. 58 ff.

answered to the description in our text, may be seen in the beginning of the First Book of Maccabees. That, as a fact, the atrocities of earlier days were repeated in after years, is only what might have been expected. Given similar victims, similar circumstances, similar perpetrators, the result was sure to be analogous also. Here, as elsewhere, history repeats itself, and we need seek no closer fulfilment of the prediction. By speaking, in the following paragraph, of "a second vengeance," the writer seems to desire to call to remembrance the persecution of Antiochus.

We now come to the great crux of the whole book, at a satisfactory solution of which no commentator has yet arrived. "In that day a man shall arise from the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo. And he shall call his seven sons unto him, and thus address them: 'Behold, my sons, a second time has vengeance fallen upon this people, a cruel, foul punishment, and pitiless captivity. What nation or people has suffered for their iniquities as we have suffered? Ye see and know that we have never tempted God,1 neither our fathers nor ancestors, so as to transgress His command-And herein lies our strength. Let us then do this: let us fast for three days; and on the fourth day let us go into a cave which is in the field, and rather die than break the commandments of our God. For if we do this and die, the Lord will avenge our blood." Now the question is, who is meant by "Taxo." Is it a real name? take it as representing a certain numerical value, as the beast in the Revelation of St. John? And if so, is the name Greek, Latin, or Hebrew? Or is it a cypher, containing the same number of letters as the name intended? Into these and such like questions editors have entered at great length, with this conclusion, according to Fritzsche,

¹ The MS. gives: "quia nunquam temptans deum nec patres," etc. Fritzsche corrects, "temptavimus;" Volkmar, "temptantes;" Colani retains "temptans," referring, according to his interpretation, to Rabbi Jehouda-ben-Baba.

with which I am forced to agree: "ut nemo adhuc inventus est. qui nomen satis probabiliter enuclearet, ita de ejus explicatione videtur desperandum." Among the various theories offered, that of Wieseler 1 seems in some respects In his view the seer is again introducing reasonable. details from Maccabæan history, such as occur in 1 Macc. ii. 29 ff. and 2 Macc. vi. 11 ff., or from the deeds of that Matthias who was the ringleader in the disturbances which took place on the death of Herod, and who, according to Josephus (Ant. xvii. 6; Bell. Jud. i. 33), made much the same speech as Taxo, before pulling down the Roman eagle on the temple gate, urging his followers to sacrifice their lives in defence of the honour of God. As for the word "Taxo," it is probably the Low-Latin word meaning "a badger," equivalent to the Hebrew which is very similar to the German "Dachs," and has the same meaning; and it may be either a play on the badger skin which formed part of the covering of the tabernacle, or the appellation of the man who had to act the part of this animal by hiding in dens of the earth.2 This man may be either Judas of Galilee, or some chief among the party of the Zealots, possibly the writer himself. Now the principal fact that militates against Taxo being Judas is the character of Judas himself. Though his followers saw in him the promised Messiah, he was by no means one who would have used the words attributed to Non-resistance was not his policy. Certainly he taught that it was better to die than to break the law of God; but it was death with arms in their hands that he exhorted his followers to meet. His watchword, "We have no master but the Lord," led him to fight with earthly weapons, and the cruelties and excesses of his companions have stained the name of Zealots for all time.

¹ Jahrb. 1868, p. 629.

² Comp. 2 Macc. x. 6: "They wandered in the mountains and in dens like beasts." Heb. xi. 38.

There is so much more matter interesting and important in this little work that we need not spend further time on the interpretation of "Taxo." Suffice it to say that Hilgenfeld affirms the original to have been $\tau \xi \gamma' = 363$, i.e. numerically Volkmar writes $\tau a \xi o$, which he makes = 431, Messiah. and deems that the person intended is Akiba, the comrade of Bar-Cocheba. Colani and Carrière pronounce that the translator has mistaken the original Aramæan word which meant "ordinance" 1 for a proper name, whereas the sentence really signifies, "there shall be a man of the tribe of Levi who shall promulgate an ordinance, or give an instruction"—the instruction being the address to the sons which follows, and the speaker being Rabbi Jehouda-ben-Baba, who, according to a Rabbinical tradition, acted somewhat in the manner of "Taxo" towards the end of the persecution of Adrian.2 But the date of The Assumption renders this last theory utterly untenable.

To proceed: "Then shall His (Jehovah's) kingdom be manifested in all His creation, and the Devil (Zabulus) shall find his end, and with him all sorrow shall vanish away. Then shall power be given to the messenger who is set in the highest place, who soon shall avenge them (Taxo and his comrades) of their enemies." This "messenger" seems to be the prophet like unto Moses of Deut. xviii. 15, 18, who himself is called "the great Messenger" in chap. xi. of our book. Nor can we be intended to see in this personage the Messiah. At the most, the expected One was an equal of Moses, superior to him neither in person nor in act. The same expectation of a faithful prophet (προφήτης πιστός) is

¹ NDDD, found in Chaldee and Syriac in the sense of the Greek word

² See Revue de Théol. pp. 80 ff.

³ Comp. Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 21. The word Zabulus is merely another form of Diabolus, found in African Latin, di being pronounced as z, and o changed into u. See Rönsch's article in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschr. 1868, p. 100.

[&]quot;Implebuntur manus," a translation of the Hebrew phrase for consecrating or appointing to an office. Comp. Ex. xxviii. 41; 1 Kings xiii. 33.

^{3 &}quot; Nuntii qui est in summo constitutus."

found in 1 Macc. xiv. 41, where the epithet points to Moses, to whom it is specially applied. The Pharisaic party among the Zealots looked for a heaven-sent Saviour and Deliverer to prepare the way for the visible reign of Jehovah; and when the multitude, who were miraculously fed by Christ (John vi.). exclaimed: "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world," they were expressing the vague expectation of the advent of a personage like unto Moses, possessed perhaps of some Messianic features, but not the Messiah Himself. see the difference in the estimation in which our Lord was held by His contemporaries. "Some said," we are told, John vii. 40, "Of a truth this is the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ." And although we know from Christ's own words 2 that Moses wrote of Him when he foretold the appearance of a prophet like unto himself, yet this was by no means the general view, and a distinction between Christ and this prophet was generally recognised.3 In the following eloquent passage which speaks of final triumph, Jehovah Himself comes to the rescue of His oppressed people: 4 "Then shall the Heavenly One arise from the seat of His kingdom, and come forth from His holy habitation, with wrath and indignation for His children's sake. And the earth shall tremble and quake to its utmost borders; and the lofty mountains shall be humbled and shaken, and the valleys shall sink. The sun shall give no light, and shall turn into darkness; the horns of the moon shall be broken, and she shall be turned into blood, and the circle of the stars shall be confounded. sea shall retreat to the abyss, the springs of water shall fail, and the rivers shall be dried up; because the Most High, the

¹ See Num. xii. 7; and in the New Testament, Heb. iii. 2, 5.

² St. John v. 46. Comp. i. 45, and Acts xxvi. 22.

³ See John i. 21, where, noting the use of the definite article, ε πριφήσης, Theophylact mentions the error of the Jews in ignoring the identity between the prophet and the Messiah. See Acts iii. 22.

Merx and Schmidt see in this portion of The Assumption on Essenic psalm.
It certainly runs easily into a strophic arrangement.

Eternal, the only God, shall arise and come manifestly to chastise the nations and to destroy their idols. Then shalt thou be happy, O Israel, and shalt mount on the necks and wings of the eagle, and thy days shall be fulfilled. And God shall exalt thee that thou shalt cleave to the starry heaven, over the place of their habitation. And thou shalt look from above and see thine enemies on earth, and shalt know them, and rejoice, and give thanks, and acknowledge thy Creator."

The triumph over the heathen power of Rome, here, as in the Book of Esdras, represented under the symbol of the eagle (which had twelve feathered wings and three heads), is ascribed to the direct intervention of Jehovah, the signs that are to accompany His presence being adopted from the imagery of the Old Testament prophets. There is no hint of a conquering Messiah, a Son of David, who should restore the dominion of Israel, and reign a mighty King over innumerable people. The Zealot could not contemplate the accession of any earthly monarch to the government of the chosen nation; his hopes centred in the restoration of the theocracy and the visible rule of Jehovah. It is with this grand expectation that he comforts the stricken hearts of his Then he proceeds to define the time of this epiphany. "From my death and assumption," says Pseudo-Moses, "unto His appearing shall be two hundred and fifty

^{1 &}quot;Summus Deus, eternus, solus." There are passages parallel to this prophecy in 2 Esdr. (e.g. vi. 24), in the Book of Enoch (i. 6, xci. 9), and in the Psalms of Solom, xviii. 4. Comp. Joel ii. 10, 31, iii. 15.

^{2 &}quot;Et ascendes supra cervices et alas aquilæ, et implebuntur" (dies tui). The last words are a conjecture of Fritzsche. There is evidently something omitted in the MS. With this reference to the eagle we may compare 2 Esdr. xi., xii.; but there is no need, with Volkmar, to conclude that Pseudo-Moses borrowed the symbol from Esdras. The profane introduction of the Roman eagle into the temple led to the insurrection repressed by Varus; and the symbol would be naturally used by any writer of the period. Joseph. Ant. xvii. 6.

is correct, it must refer to the heathen who are to suffer chastisement, and the place of their dwelling must be Rome. The idea is that the Israelites shall see and exult in the overthrow of their pagan enemies. Comp Isa. lxvi. 14, 24.

times." At the commencement of the book, if the revised reading of editors may be trusted, the last year of Moses' life is said to correspond with the year 2500 A.M.; and, taking "the times" as weeks of years (250×7) , we find that the great Parousia will occur in the year of the world 4250. This would be 45 A.D. according to the chronology of Josephus, as gathered from some portions of his writings; but no importance can be attached to this, as he is very inconsistent in his dates, and we have no reason to suppose that Pseudo-Moses followed the system of chronology used by that writer. Without attempting to solve the enigma of the number of years, I should be inclined to suppose that the seer had no definite date in his mind, and merely assigned this. visible interposition of Jehovah to the distant future, using terms in his vaticination with which the prophets of old had, made him familiar.

But it is time now to turn to the second part of The Assumption. When Joshua heard the words of Moses, we are told, he rent his clothes, and fell upon his face, addressing his leader with words of grief and fear: "What a word is this that thou hast spoken, full of tears and sorrow! Thou art leaving this thy people. What place will receive thee, and what will be the memorial of thy burial? Who will dare to transfer thy body hence as that of any other mortal man? Other men are buried in the earth; but thy grave is from the rising to the setting sun, from the south to the north; the whole world is thy sepulchre. And thou wilt depart; and who will nourish thy people? Who will pity them and be their leader? And who will pray for them every day that I may bring them into the land of the Amorites? How shall I

^{1 &}quot;Quæ est plena lacrimis et gemitibus." Eurip. Hec. 230: πλήρης στιναγμῶς, εὐὰ δακρύων κινός. The first words of Joshua's speech are: "Quid me celares, Domine Moyse! et quo genere celabo de quo locutus es voce acerba!" Volkmar and Wieseler read "zelares" and "zelabor" for "celares" and "celabo;" and the latter sees a reference here to the party of Zealots to which the seer belonged.

be able to lead them as a father guides his only son, or a mother her daughter now ripe for marriage? And how shall I give them food and water? For the people have so increased under thy prayers that they number now a hundred thousand men. The kings of the Amorites, when they hear that thou art departed, will war against us, thinking that there is no longer among us that sacred spirit (Moses) worthy of the Lord, manifold and inconceivable master of the word, faithful in all things, the divine prophet throughout the world, the perfect teacher. And they will say: 'Let us attack them.' If our enemies have once sinned against their Lord, they have now no defender to pray for them to the Lord, as Moses was a mighty messenger,2 who every hour, day and night, had his knees pressed to the earth, looking to the Almighty and praying Him to visit the world with mercy and justice, remembering the covenant of the fathers.' Yea, they will say, 'He is with them no more, let us drive them from the face of the earth.' And what shall become of this thy people, my lord Moses?"

To this sorrowful appeal Moses answers with encouragement. He tells Joshua to fear nothing. All nations are in God's hands, who has predetermined all that happens, even to the least particular, and unto the end of time. "The Lord," he proceeds, "hath appointed me to pray for the people, and to make intercession for their sins. Not for my strength nor for my weakness hath this befallen me, but from His mercy and long-suffering. And I tell thee, Joshua, that it is not for the piety of this people that thou shalt destroy the nations. The yault of heaven and the foundations of the

¹ This is an important passage, showing the regard in which Moses was held. "Sed et reges Amorreorum cum audierint expugnare nos, credentes jam non esse semet (secus, Fr.) sacrum spiritum dignum Domino, multiplicem et incomprehensibilem, dominum verbi, fidelem in omnia, divinum per orbem profetem, consummatum in sæculo doctorem jam non esse in eis, dicent eamus ad eos." Ch. xi. Comp. Deut. xxxiv. 10 ff.

^{2 &}quot;Magnus nuntius," as we have seen above, "the prophet like unto Moses" called "nuntius qui est in summo constitutus.

world were created and approved by God, and are beneath the ring of His right hand. They who keep the commandments of God shall be increased, and prosper in their way; but sinners and the disobedient shall have no part in the promised blessings, and shall be punished by the heathen with many torments. For it is not possible that He should destroy His people utterly. For God will come forth, who hath foreseen all things in every age, and His covenant is established, and with an oath, which"...

Here the manuscript ends, some ten or twelve leaves being lost. The missing fragment doubtless contained the conclusion of Moses' address, and then told how Joshua departed to his appointed work, and how Moses took his Pisgah view of the promised land, died, was buried by the angels in spite of Satan's opposition, and received his "assumption"—his mortal body being laid to rest in the unknown valley, his immortal part being escorted by angel bands to heaven itself.

It is unfortunate that the only quotations of, and references to, The Assumption which have reached us from antiquity contain sentences and statements not now extant, though there can be no reasonable doubt that they were portions of the original document. From our present fragments we can gather enough, however, to teach us the importance and utility of the work.

Like many other apocalyptic productions, it is a combination of history and prophecy, partly a narrative of past events, partly an ideal view of the future. It is not so much an independent prophecy, wherein the seer, constrained by the overmastering spirit, pours forth a stream of rebuke, warning, and prediction, as an exposition and development of hints given in the Pentateuch, and especially in Deuteronomy, so that Wieseler has termed it "a prophetical Midrasch."

¹ Gen. i. 31.

^{*} MS.: "Sub nullo dexteræ illius sunt." This has been rightly restored by editors to "sub annulo," etc. Comp. Hag. ii. 23.

Written, as it must have been, in the first half of the first Christian century, it contains no trace of Christian ideas, or of any acquaintance with the pretensions, the life and death of That in some respects our Blessed Saviour would have corresponded to the notion of the coming prophet entertained by some of the Pharisaic Zealots, is obvious, claiming no earthly sovereignty, He would have suited the sentiments of those who would own no lord but Jehovah; but the moral triumphs to which His kingdom aspired, the bloodless victories of religion, would have been very far from answering their hopes or fulfilling the desires of their fiery The prophet whom they had taught themselves to expect was merely the precursor of the restored theocracy, when, under the visible chieftainship of Jehovah, the heathenshould be destroyed as the doomed Canaanites perished, and Israel should rise victorious by earthly arms wielded under the direction and with the assured assistance of God Himself. At the same time it is interesting to remember that one at least of Christ's apostles was a zealot, and learned to see in his Master "the Prophet" and the Messiah. Now this sect. as an offshoot of the Pharisees, doubtless shared with them the belief in the resurrection of the dead; but there is no direct statement of this doctrine in The Assumption. Writing in the character of Moses, who has left no teaching on the subject in the Pentateuch, the seer would naturally avoid dogmatizing on this matter; but he uses the phrase, "being gathered to his fathers," which perhaps in his time carried with it the hope of the resurrection. There is, indeed, no trace of Christian doctrine throughout the work; it is distinctly narrow and national. The earth is made for the chosen people, whose strength lies in obedience to the law, and whose transgression shall be punished by the hands of the heathen. But the Lord will never wholly destroy the Israelites for His oath's sake and the promise made to their forefathers. The seer never looks to the salvation of the heathen. They are raised up-

merely as instruments of chastisement for sinning Jews; and when this purpose is fulfilled, they shall themselves be judged, and meet with the reward of their lawlessness and idolatry. He does, indeed, condescend to correct some of their prevalenterrors concerning creation and religion, but this is done for the sake of his own people who might be led astray by the paganism of Herod's court. The selfish, narrow prejudices: which so often appears in the Gospels; refusing to hear of favours offered to non-Israelites, is found conspicuously in The Assumption. That side of the Messianic idea which promised light and grace to the Gentiles, was repugnant to the Zealot. His keen sense of injury at the hands of Rome blinded himto the possibility of the conversion and acceptance of those who were now aliens. Nor did he see the necessity of a Messiah such as we Christians receive. If we regard the description of Moses given above, we shall observe that the prophet usurps the place of Messiah; this "divine" personage leaves no room for Christ; he is the mediator between God and the people, the appointed intercessor, and nothing higher or more heavenly is expected. The idea of the Son of God made man is wholly foreign to the seer's theology, and the only Messiah he looks for is "that prophet" who should herald the restoration of the theocracy. And that this "nuntius in summo constitutus" is not a divine person, is shown by the very phrase used of him above: "his hands shall be filled." For this is an expression employed to designate the consecration of an earthly priest or prophet, and applies not to an angel or to Deity Incarnate. The hope of Pseudo-Moses is, as I have said, confined to the Parousia of Jehovah Himself displayed by some manifest sign as the Shekinah, when under His guidance Israel should overthrow her enemies. believing that this appearance was to happen soon, the Zealot's view was much the same as that of the primitive Christians, who could say with firm confidence, "the coming of the Lord draweth nigh," and expect that He would in their day restore

again the kingdom to Israel. That this hope was a great support in times of distress and persecution may well be imagined; and it was to give definiteness to this expectation and to enforce its lesson that our book was written.

For showing the hopes and opinions of an influential party among the Jews at the beginning of the first Christian century few documents of greater interest than The Assumption of Moses have reached our times. And the particular point which the book illustrates, viz. that the expectation of a personal Messiah was not universal, is worthy of more study than it has received. There are other points of some importance which may be found therein; and I trust this brief sketch may lead to their investigation at the hands of scholars more competent than myself.

WILLIAM J. DEANE.

¹ The same view is found in another Pseudepigraphic work, The Book of Jubilees.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

4. Christ's Doctrine of God.

In passing from the Old Testament to the Gospels, we find God spoken of under a new name. The Jehovah of Israel is replaced by the Divine Father of men. An ancient reading of Matt. xi. 27, of earlier date than the oldest of extant manuscripts, made Jesus claim to be the revealer of God in His paternal character. "No man knew the Father save the The claim is valid, independently of doubtful readings of evangelic texts. The "only-begotten" was the first effective excepte of God as Father. He declared Him so that the name Father took its place in human speech as the Christian name for the Divine Being. The doctrine was not absolutely new; like every other Christian doctrine, it had its root in the Old Testament. But it was new in emphasis. It was also new in respect to the relation the name Father was employed to express. In Old Testament dialect the epithet expressed a relation of God to the chosen nation, or to its earthly sovereign, Jehovah's vicegerent. Israel's King was God's Son. But Christ placed God in a paternal relation to individuals, and represented Him as the Father of the human spirit. It was in one sense a doctrine as old as Genesis, where it is taught that man was made in God's image. But it was the old doctrine with a marked The man made in God's image, of the Book of difference. Origins, is an ideal man untainted by moral evil. But Jesus said: God is the Father of men, sin notwithstanding. said this not merely with reference to the best men in whom moral evil appeared in the most mitigated form, the people of culture and character, but even with reference to the most

depraved and degraded. The God He preached is Father not only of those who by His grace have become citizens of the Divine kingdom, but also of those who are without. The doctrine concerned both sinners and saints, and was proclaimed to all on highway or in market-place, irrespective of social or moral antecedents.

But the Fatherhood of God, as announced by Jesus, while having reference to all, does not necessarily mean the same thing for all. God cannot, any more than an earthly parent, be a Father to His prodigal children to the same effect as to sons who dwell in His house and regard Him with trust, reverence, and love. The full benefit of Divine Fatherhood can only be experienced where there is a filial attitude and spiritual receptivity. The will to bless may be in the Father's heart, yet be frustrated by unbelief or alienation. Hence, in studying the doctrine of God's paternal love, we must have regard to moral distinctions. We must ask ourselves what it means for sinners, and what for saints; for men in general on the one hand, for the children of the Kingdom on the other. We shall find that the words of Jesus supply us with materials for answering both questions.

The Fatherhood of God in both relations has two aspects, a providential and a gracious; the one referring to the temporal interests of men, the other to the higher interests of the soul. The paternal Providence of God over all is taught in that word in the Sermon on the Mount, in which the Father in heaven is represented as making His sun rise upon evil and good, and sending rain on just and unjust. This part of Christ's doctrine is not so much a new revelation as a reversion to a simple truth of natural religion. Nature itself teaches men to think of the Maker and Sustainer of the world as a parent who gives to his children their daily bread. The Vedic Indians, with this thought in their mind, worshipped Dyaus-pitar, the heaven-Father. They felt their

¹ Matt. v. 45.

dependence for the things they chiefly sought after, food and raiment, on the elements; and without clearly distinguishing between creature and Creator, they looked up to the sky, and adored the Power that sent them sunshine and showers in due season.

On the other side of God's universal Fatherhood, Christ's teaching rises far above the level of man's unassisted thought. The natural man, because he seeks chiefly material good, does not much meditate on God's paternal care for his spiritual wellbeing. This aspect comes into full view only when men begin to seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness as the first goods of life. Jesus taught that God cares with paternal tenderness for the souls of those who utterly neglect the chief end and the chief good. His teaching on this subject is an essential part of His doctrine of the kingdom. It does not declare the truth concerning God's relation to the citizens of the kingdom which forms the crown of His theology, but it sets forth a truth the belief of which tends to make men become citizens. The locus classicus for this part of Christ's revelation of the Father is the fifteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel containing the parables concerning the finding of the lost, and especially the last of the three parables—the There God appears as One who takes pleasure Prodigal Son. in the repentance of sinners such as the reprobates of Jewish society, because in these penitents He sees prodigal children returning to their Father's house. By these parabolic utterances Jesus said to all, however far from righteousness, God loves you as His children, no more worthy to be called sons, yet regarded as such; He deplores your departure from Him, and desires your return; and He will receive you graciously when, taught wisdom by misery, you direct your footsteps It is not allegorizing exegesis to take this meaning out of the parables. Jesus was on His defence for loving classes of men despised or despaired of, and His defence in part consisted in this, that His bearing towards the

outcasts was that of the Divine Being. He loved them as a Brother; God loved them as a Father.

Even if these parables had never been spoken, the fatherly love of God to the lost ones must still have appeared an obvious corollary from Christ's own behaviour towards them. The new doctrine of God was involved in the new line of God was proclaimed to be the compassionate Father of the sinful by deeds more emphatically than by the most pathetic and beautiful words. The much-blamed sympathetic intercourse of Jesus with the publicans and sinners of Israel, said to all who could understand: "The most depraved of men is still a man, my brother, my Father's child; therefore I love him, and am fully assured that God loves him as I do." Doubtless converts to discipleship from these classes did understand. They felt instinctively that the God of Jesus was a different Being from the God of the Pharisees, who scorned and repelled them; not a God of merely negative holiness keeping aloof from the sinful, but One who desired to make others partakers of His holiness; not a merely righteous God, but good as well as righteous, the one absolutely Good Being, benignant, gracious, delighting to bestow favours; not the God of a clique or coterie, the head of the Pharisaical party or of the Rabbinical schools, but the God of the populace and the profane rabble, with whom a penitent publican had a better chance of acceptance than a self-complacent religionist who studied the law day and night and scrupulously observed all prescribed rules. things," this Father - God, was revealed to the "babes." though hidden from the wise and understanding; hidden from them because they desired not such a divinity, but rather one like unto themselves, priding himself on his holiness, and jealously guarding it from tarnish by isolation.

This Father-God who loveth even the unholy, whom Jesus preached by word and still more impressively by action, is another sign that the coming kingdom is not national but

universal. This God cannot be the God of the Jews only, any more than He can be the God of a Pharisaic party within the Jewish nation. The Gentiles also are His children. He may seem to have neglected them hitherto, but the neglect can only have been comparative. Now that Jesus has come revealing the Father, the period of neglect manifestly draws to a close; the time of merciful visitation for the Gentile world is at hand.

Passing now from the universal aspect of Divine Fatherhood to the more special, we find that a paternal Providence for the citizens of the kingdom was very strongly asserted He told His disciples that they need have no concern about temporal interests; their Father in heaven would take charge of these; their part was to devote themselves in filial dutifulness and trust to the service of the kingdom, "Be not anxious," He said to them, "saving, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things. But seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." 1 That is, Let your care be the kingdom, you yourselves will be your Father's care. It is a distribution of duties between a The children are to devote them-Father and His children. selves to the kingdom and righteousness of their Father, for so these are named in the reading adopted above, which is intrinsically probable though found only in the Vatican manuscript. Devotion to the kingdom so conceived becomes For children love to serve their Father; an easy task. subjects who are also sons do the King's will with enthusiasm. On the other hand, they are relieved from all anxiety concerning themselves. For the Divine Father and King will provide for His children. He careth for all, even for His prodigal children who are unthankful and evil; how much

¹ Matt. vi. 31-33; Luke xii. 29-31.

more will He care for dutiful children who do His will, and devote themselves to those interests which He regards as of supreme importance!

The same distribution of duties between Father and children underlies the Lord's Prayer. First come petitions for the advancement of the kingdom, implying that that is the main object of solicitude for the petitioners; then follow petitions for personal wants—daily bread, pardon of short-comings, and protection from evil, springing not out of anxiety, but out of an assured confidence that these boons will be granted. The import of the prayer is: Father in heaven, our heart's chief desire is that Thy name be glorified, and we give ourselves to the service of Thy kingdom, and the doing of Thy will, trusting that Thou wilt remember all the wants of us Thy children.

This paternal care of God for His servants, so pathetically taught by Christ, is the necessary complement of the entire self-consecration which is the cardinal virtue in the ethical code of the kingdom. Those who are required to seek the kingdom and its righteousness with their whole heart are men living in the body, needing food and raiment and other things of like nature for the preservation of their natural lives; and if they are not to be preoccupied with cares about such matters, or to permit such sordid solicitudes to take their thoughts off higher concerns, there must be some one else to look after their physical needs. must be a Providence over them taking charge of temporalities, even as in military organization there is a commissariat department whose business it is to find the soldier in food and clothing, while he does not trouble himself about the affairs of life that he may please him who hath enlisted him for military service.1 Christ taught His disciples that the commissariat department was in the hands of their Heavenly Father, so that they had but to play the part of

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 4.

soldiers found in everything they need. This doctrine, so clearly stated in the passage above quoted from the Sermon on the Mount, He repeated as occasion required. When, for example, He sent forth His disciples on the Galilean mission, He gave them instructions which might be summarized in these two precepts, "Care not;" "Fear not." 1 Be careful about nothing, food, raiment, lodging, not even about a staff; be not anxious as to what ye shall say, or how to say it when placed in trying positions: it shall be given unto you in that hour what ye shall say. Fear not; ye will doubtless sometimes be in circumstances fitted to inspire fear, involving peril to your lives. Yet fear not for your bodily life; fear only one thing, the death of your souls through unfaithfulness in yielding to the tempter who whispers, "Save thyself; prefer personal safety to duty." As for your bodies, why fear for Should the worst come, you are not really harmed, and your Father will provide that the worst come not so long as you are needed for the work of the kingdom. The hairs of your head are numbered by Him who careth even for valueless sparrows. To this effect did Jesus exhort the apprentice evangelists. It is unnecessary to ask, who is the unnamed object of fear who is distinguished from the foes that seek to stay the progress of the kingdom by killing the bodies of its apostles, as one who is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna. Who else can the ghostly foe be but the evil spirit who goeth about tempting men to prefer their personal interests to the Divine? But why then is he not named? That he may be all the more an object of dread. Fear ye, said Jesus in effect, the nameless secret foe who seeks your ruin by tempting you to play the coward and deserter instead of the man and the hero. God also might be described as the Destroyer, in so far as He judicially gives over to perdition those who act the part of apostates and traitors. But so to have spoken of God would ¹ Matt. x. 19, 28,

have been bad policy and bad rhetoric when the Speaker desired to lodge in the minds of His disciples the idea of God as a Father, as the antidote to all fear. To exhibit God as an object of infinite dread is a poor way of preparing men to receive Him as an object of unbounded trust. Moreover the proper object of fear is not the judicial damnation but that which leads to it, temptation to apostasy. The point on which we are to bring to bear all our faculty of horror is that at which the first Satanic suggestion is whispered, "Save thyself: self-preservation is the first duty; why risk property, name, life, in a mad enterprise?"

During the time He was with them, Jesus found cause for renewing the exhortations, "Fear not," "Care not," to His dis-In the twelfth chapter of Luke we find such a counsel against anxiety lying like a pebble on a gravel-bank which may have strayed from its original position in the evangelic history, but whose intrinsic value remains undiminished. " Fear not. little flock: for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." 1 The situation is so described as to make clear how great is the temptation to fear. The disciples are. in relation to the world, a small flock of sheep, few in number, insignificant in influence, and helpless as sheep in the midst of devouring wolves. Nevertheless, with reference even to such an apparently desperate situation, they are exhorted not to fear, but to be assured that their Father will not suffer them either to lose the kingdom, the chief object of their quest, or to fall victims to hostile powers.

These and other words of Jesus setting forth God's paternal care for those who serve Him, are utterances full of poetry and pathos, the bare reading of which exercises a soothing influence on our troubled spirits in this world of trial, sorrow, and care. Yet we are tempted to regard them as a romantic idyll having the rights and value of poetry, but standing in no relation to real life. Christ's whole doctrine of a Father

¹ Luke xii. 32.

God may appear to us the product of a delicate religious imagination and a child-like loving heart which went through life dreaming a pleasant dream and scarce conscious of collisions with hard unwelcome experiences. Some think the "We are of age," writes world has outgrown the doctrine. one, "and do not need a Father's care." 1 majority, little inclined to adopt this haughty tone, find the doctrine very welcome, if only it were true. It is a spring in the desert of life, nevertheless is not life a desert all the It may be; but whatever the facts are which seem to justify this pessimistic view, they were perfectly familiar to His doctrine of Divine Fatherhood did come from the heart; it was as far as possible from being the dry scientific utterance of a scholastic theologian, and scholastic theology has shown its consciousness of the fact by treating the doctrine But Jesus uttered the doctrine with full with neglect. knowledge of all in experience that seemed to contradict it, and earnestly believed it, all that notwithstanding. knew how much there is to tempt men to say: Providence is anything but paternal, if indeed there be a Providence at all; for has not every man to be his own providence, finding for himself food or raiment and all things needful as best he can, and endeavouring the while not altogether to forgot higher matters? And He spoke words fitted to lay such doubting thoughts arising out of sombre experience. vividly He conceived the mental state of the careworn, appears from Luke's version of the counsel against anxiety, which might be thus paraphrased: "Seek not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, neither be ye as a ship raised aloft on the billows of a troubled tempestuous sea." 2 But it was not alone by a stray word such as this, preserved by the third Evangelist, that Jesus showed His intimate acquaintance and deep sympathy with the trials of faith to which the servants of the

¹ Heine, Sämmtliche Werke, v. 140.

² Luke xii. 29. nai µn µ1714 pi 71061.

kingdom are liable. From the lessons He taught His disciples on Perseverance in Prayer, it appears how well aware He was that God often shows Himself so little like a Father that those who trust in Him are tempted to think Him rather like a man of selfish spirit who cares only for his own comfort, or like an unjust judge who is indifferent to right. Such precisely are the representations of God as He appears, in the two parables of the Selfish Neighbour and the Unjust Judge.1 The relevancy of the parables requires that these characters should be regarded as representing God, not as He is indeed, but as He seems to tried faith. It is thus tacitly admitted by Jesus, that far from giving His children what they need before they ask or when they ask, God often delays for a lengthened period answers to prayer, so as to present to aspect of indifference, heartlessness, unsuppliants an righteousness. The didactic drift of the two parables is: You will have to wait on God, to wait possibly till hope deferred maketh the heart sick, but it is worth your while to wait, "for the Lord is good to them that wait on Him, to the soul that seeketh Him." Man can be compelled to hear by importunity and incessant knocking. God is not a man to be compelled, yet it may be said that the apparent reluctance of Providence can be overcome by persistent prayer which refuses to be gainsaid or frustrated, continuing to knock at the door with an importunity that knows no shame,2 and assailing the ear of the judge with outcries in a temper that will not be trifled with, and an attitude almost threatening.8 In other words, with full consciousness how much there is in the world which seems to prove the contrary, Jesus asserted the reality of a Paternal Providence continually working for the good of those who make the kingdom of God

¹ Luke xi. 5-8, xviii. 1-8.

² draidua, shamelessness, is ascribed to the petitioner in the earlier parable.

The unjust judge affects to be afraid lest the widow at last should strike him: Για μὰ ὑτωπίαζη*μι.

their chief end. And this faith is the distinctively Christian theory of the Universe. Christians believe that the kingdom of heaven is a chief end for God as well as for themselves, and that He makes all things subservient to its interests. This faith gives them victory over all sordid solicitudes, and enables them with cheerfulness and hope to leave all their personal concerns in the hands of their Father.

While assuring his disciples of God's care for their temporal wants, Jesus did not neglect to teach them the still more important truth that their spiritual wellbeing was an object of tender solicitude to their Heavenly Father. This indeed hardly needed to be taught expressly. The higher care is implied in the lower. God cares for the bodies of His children, that they may give themselves without distraction to that service of the kingdom which is the very life and health of the soul. Nevertheless Jesus deemed it expedient to make the higher aspect of God's paternal providence the subject of special declarations. One such may be found even in the promise that food and raiment would be provided, which is so expressed as to include a reference to the higher goods of life. these things shall be added unto you." If food and raiment be an addition, there must be a portion to which they are That portion consists of the kingdom and its rightadded. eousness, chiefly sought, and surely to be found. What Jesus thus taught indirectly, though most forcibly, He directly declared when He said: "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." He gave a similar assurance by introducing into the model prayer petitions for the pardon of sin, and for protection from temptation and from the power of moral evil.1 The two parables already referred to bear, if not exclusively, at least inclusively, on spiritual interests. The later parable relates to the public interest of the Divine kingdom. The earlier must be supposed

¹ It seems best to take τοῦ σονηροῦ as referring not to the Evil One, but to evil in the abstract. The petition thereby gains the widest comprehensiveness.

to embrace within its scope all the petitions of the Lord's Prayer to which it is appended, the petitions relating to pardon and protection from evil, not less than that relating to daily bread. From the sentence with which the lesson on prayer, recorded in the eleventh chapter of Luke, ends, we should naturally infer that the Holy Spirit as a sanctifying power is supposed to be the chief object of desire. picious criticism may indeed find in the remarkable expression a tinge of Paulinism. But even were one to concede this, the promise of the Holy Spirit put into the mouth of Christ by Luke would be nothing more than an assurance that the prayer for protection from temptation 1 should be answered. The temptations chiefly to be dreaded are those which solicit us to sacrifice primary interests for secondary, righteousness for physical wants; and we are kept from yielding to such by the Divine Spirit dwelling in us, and imparting to us a single eye, a pure heart, a generous, noble devotion to the kingdom and its interests.

It is important to observe, that while giving these various assurances to His disciples that God would attend to their spiritual welfare, Jesus did not lead them to expect that in this sphere there would be no occasion for exercising the virtue of patience. On the contrary, it is clearly implied in the parable of the selfish neighbour, that the delays which make God assume so untoward an aspect take place in connection with all the objects referred to in the Lord's Prayer: the advancement of the kingdom, daily bread, the personal spiritual necessities of disciples. Hence we learn that even the Holy Spirit may not be given at once in satisfying measure to those who earnestly desire it, though sure to be so given eventually. The heavenly Father may for a season

In the best texts of Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer, the clause ἀλλὰ μόναι ἡμῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιπροῦ is wanting. It qualifies the previous clause by explaining in what sense temptation is to be deprecated, and is therefore implied even when not expressed.

appear unwilling to grant to those who seek first the kingdom. even that which they most value—righteousness, sanctity, complete victory over evil. This is a familiar fact of Christian experience, and the fact imports that personal sanctification is The Holy Spirit is given in ample measure a gradual process. to all earnest souls, but not even to the most earnest without such delays as are most trying to faith and patience. fact, plainly implied in the lessons on prayer recorded by Luke, is directly recognised in the parable of the Blade, the Ear. and the Full Corn, preserved by Mark alone. may be held to refer in the first place to the Divine kingdom viewed collectively, and in that view it has an important bearing on the question whether Jesus expected the kingdom to pass through a lengthened period of development. But nothing forbids us to regard the parable as applicable likewise to individual experience. The kingdom comes in the individual as well as in the community; and the lesson we learn from the parable, is that the kingdom comes as ripe grain comesgradually passing through stages analogous to those in the growth of corn: stages that cannot be overleapt, that no amount of earnestness will avail to supersede; that are indeed most marked in those who are most in earnest, and who ultimately exhibit the Divine life in its highest measure of energy and beauty. This is a great truth still not well understood, which it much concerns earnest seekers after God to Some insight into it is needful to enable lay to heart. Christians at the critical period of their spiritual life, that of the green ear, to believe in the Fatherhood of God in its highest aspect. Failing to grasp the law of gradual sanctification, they will be tempted to think that God does in the highest sphere what Jesus declared no earthly father would do in the lower sphere of physical life, viz. mock His children by giving them stones when they ask for bread, and so prove to be in truth no Father at all. And if we doubt the reality

¹ Mark iv. 26-29.

of God's Fatherhood in the realm of grace, what will it avail us to believe in His Fatherhood in ordinary providence? If we doubt His willingness to give us the bread of eternal life, what comfort can it afford us who desire that bread above all things, to believe that He is willing to give the bread that perisheth? Nay, if we let go the one faith, how can we retain the other? If we deny the Fatherhood of God in grace, how shall we believe in a paternal Providence? Along with faith in God as the Father of our spirits, will not faith in Him as the Provider for our bodies fade out of our hearts, and leave us with no better creed than that of a godless world—every man for himself?

That the kingdom of God comes as a spiritual possession, only gradually, even when earnestly sought as the highest good, the history of Christ's disciples suffices to prove. devotion of these men to the kingdom was intense from the beginning, but it was ignorant and impure. Even at a late ' period they were so unacquainted with the nature of the kingdom that they could quarrel about places of distinction in it, and their motives were so corrupt that their Master found it necessary to speak of conversion as a condition of their obtaining the humblest place in the Divine commonwealth. The initial ideas of the Twelve were conventional. accepted current ideas of the kingdom, and of righteousness, and of God; and poured the new wine of their enthusiasm into old bottles. This is ever the way with religious novices. There is plenty of zeal, but little spiritual discernment. ventional orthodoxy is implicitly adopted as the truth, all conventionally holy causes are fervently espoused, and all current religious customs are scrupulously observed. Twelve were sincere seekers of the kingdom; but they had to seek it not merely in the sense of serving its interests, but in the sense of striving to find out its true nature, and the nature of its laws, and of its Divine Ruler. They were Jews to begin with, and the task before them was to become Christians

in their thoughts of God, and of all things Divine. It was for this end that "Jesus ordained twelve, that they should be with He invited them to take His yoke upon them, that He might teach them the mysteries of the kingdom, and reveal unto them the Father. The former function He performed by uttering deep truths, many of which are recorded in the Gospels; the latter not so much by word as by life. showed the Father by unfolding Himself. To see Him was to see the Father, to understand His spirit was to know the Father's inmost heart. According to the testimony of the fourth Gospel, the companions of Jesus were slow learners in this department of their spiritual education. "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," 2 Philip is made to say on the eve of the Passion. It seems a libel on a fellow-disciple. after all, the alleged ignorance is perfectly credible. Christendom been slow to learn the revelation of the Father? Have we not yet to learn it, by accepting the Jesus of the Gospels as an absolutely true and full manifestation of the Divine Being, and believing without reserve that He and God are in spirit one? A thoroughly Christian idea of God is still a desideratum, and when the Church has reached it, the kingdom of God shall have come in power.

A. B. BRUCE.

¹ Mark iii. 14.

² John xiv. 8.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I. 5, 6.

VER. 5. "Through whom." The apostle's thought ascends beyond "Jesus Christ our Lord," although travelling on the same line; and hence the mediatorial "through." Webster and Wilkinson had scant ground for saying that the preposition means "through and out of, denoting alike instrumentality and source."—we received. Note the 'we.' It stands here for the singular 'I;' only the apostle made use of an idiom that allowed him to cast a veil over the obtrusiveness of one's individuality. It is the plural of category, and would doubtless, long before the full-fledged idiom emerged, have its origin in representations that were made by 'one,' with the concurrence of 'more.' Note the word "received." It is in the agrist, and thus expresses an action that is simply past. The apostle, carrying his thought upward to the point of time when he received the privileges he specifies, leaves it there, instead of carrying it chronologically downward to the time when he was writing.—grace and apostleship. This is not exactly a double-folding of one idea, as if the meaning were the grace of apostleship, or grace, even apostleship. It is a distinct pair of ideas, though of ideas intimately interrelated in the He received a blessing of "grace," and another apostle's case. distinct blessing of "apostleship." The grace was, in technical theological phraseology, -- converting, pardoning, justifying, sanctifying grace. It was the Divine favour, terminating on the apostle, as himself a sinner, even like others, and seeking his salvation. It was such an effluence of the loving-kindness of God as, in its tendency to produce in the future apostle

conversion, pardon, justification, and holiness, made provision for much human joy ($\chi \acute{a}\rho \iota s$, $\chi a\acute{l}\rho \omega$), "the joy of salvation." This effluence does not denote what is immanent in the It has reference to what is transient, or to what passes out from within the Divine heart, and bodies itself forth in Divine operation. Hence it is that it can be spoken of as not merely "believed," but "received."——for obedience to faith, or in order to obedience to faith. expression obedience to faith is the correct English idiom, corresponding to the idiom of the original Greek. The apostle does , not mean for the obedience of faith, as if faith were regarded by Faith may frequently be so regarded, for him as obedience. "this is His commandment, that we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ" (1 John iii. 23). But in the passage before us it is regarded not as obedience, but as demanding Man is under obligation to have faith. duty of every man to whom the message of salvation is sent. to have faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Our capricious English idiom allows us to say love 'of' God, when meaning love 'to' God; but, strange to say, it does not permit us to say obedience 'of' faith, when meaning obedience 'to' faith. Hence the impossibility of absolute literality of translation. ----among all the Gentiles; not, as Rückert in particular, and many others, contend, among all the "nations," inclusive of the Jews (compare Rom. xi. 13, 14, xv. 15, 16; Eph. iii. 8; Gal. ii. 7: Acts xxii. 21, etc.). Not even does the expression mean among all the extra-Judaic nations. The reference to nations, as nations, is merged in the apostle's representation. The word had got disintegrated, in his usage, into the conception of individual persons (see Rom. xi. 13; 1 Cor. xii. 2; Gal. ii. 12; Eph. ii. 11; Acts xiii. 48, xiv. 2-5, xxi. 25, etc.). preposition among is a poor substitute for the apostle's in. But when we say 'in' all the Gentiles, the idea might not unnaturally suggest itself that there is a reference to all individual Gentiles. That, however, was not the apostle's

meaning. He meant in the sphere of all the Gentiles without distinction of nationality. --- When the apostle says that he received both grace and apostleship for obedience to faith in all gentiledom, are we to suppose that, not only in the gift of his apostleship, but likewise in the grace which he received, and which issued in his conversion, there was the Divine intention of fitting him for a peculiar official position in the Church and in the world? His expression seems to intimate that it was not for his own personal benefit that he received either grace or apostleship. His apostleship of course was not for himself: was the Divine grace also for others, and not-at least in its culminating act-for himself? Be it noted that there was something special in the apostle's conversion, and thus in the grace or favour manifested in it; there was miracle, which, though not necessitating the will, must yet have been mightily influential in its motive power. (See Acts ix.) Why such miracle? Why such specialty of grace or favour? Was it for the apostle's own sake? it for his mere private advantage? It cannot be. Tarsus, viewed merely as a man, self-contained, complete and finished off in all the roundness of humanity, was not more to God than millions of other men. But the same Saul of Tarsus, considered in his mental and moral idiosyncrasy as a marvellous impersonation of mental and moral forces, whereby grand ulterior ends in human society could be realized, was incomparably more than many millions of ordinary men. "Poor Joseph" could have done such a work as Saul of Tarsus Probably no Homer, no Aristotle, no Plato, no Demosdid. thenes, no Cicero, could have done his work. material of the peerless apostle was in him. The right combination of head and heart was in him. The right temperament, the right ardour, the right moral heroism, the right susceptibility to things spiritual, the right depth and breadth, the right enthusiasm,-all these were present. They had been implanted by a Divine Hand, though no doubt working in harmony with

free human conditions. It was fit that such a man should be specially "apprehended" by Divine grace, and that not so much for his own sake as for the sake of the world at large. Hence the arrestment on the road to Damascus. And hence it was that the apostle, realizing somewhat the ends divinely contemplated in the grace or favour that was scintillating out from the miracle, speaks of himself as having received "grace, as well as apostleship, through Jesus Christ for obedience to faith among all the Gentiles."-For His name's sake, that is, for the lustre or glory of Christ's name. The meaning really is, for the lustre or glory of His person. But as we think and speak of persons by means of their "names," we may sometimes ascribe to the name what in strictness of speech belongs to the person. It is no particular name of our Saviour that is referred to. His name is multitudinous; it is a name of many names; and after we try to sum them up, like the scattered stars and constellations of the sky, we are constrained to say, "Lo, these are parts of His ways; but how little a portion is heard of Him!"

Ver. 6. Among whom, i.e. among which Gentiles, are ye also. It would be well if future editors of the text would restore the comma at the close of this clause. It has unhappily been deleted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and by Alford, as well as de Wette and Meyer. These critics suppose that the apostle's statement is, among whom ye also are Jesus Christ's called. But manifestly the apostle's aim was to give emphasis, not to the fact that his Romans were, as truly as others, Jesus Christ's called, but to the fact that they were within the circle of his Gentile diocese, so that it was no presumption or ultroneous intermeddling on his part to send them a theological epistle.—Jesus Christ's called. The expression does not mean called 'by' Jesus Christ, but called ones 'belonging to' Jesus Christ, as His peculiar people. The genitive is that of possession. In St. Paul's Epistles it is never Jesus, it is uniformly the Father who is spoken of as calling. In the

Gospels, Jesus is represented as "calling sinners to repentance." But in St. Paul's Epistles the called are they who have repented Sometimes the expression called is and believed the gospel. used absolutely, as in Rom, viii, 28, 1 Cor. i. 24, as well as in the passage before us. Believers are "saved and called" (2 Tim. i. 9). Generally the object to which they are called is specified; and the great object, the object of objects, whether specified or dipped out of sight, is consummated "salvation" (2 Thess. ii. 13, 14). It is "eternal life" (1 Tim. vi. 12). is "God's kingdom and glory" (1 Thess. ii. 12). formity to the Son of God" in His "glorified condition" (Rom. viii. 28-30). It is, in the highly-figurative language of the Revelation, "the marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. xix. 9). It is "God's eternal glory" (1 Pet. v. 10). That is "the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii. 14), or, in other words, the object is the ineffable blessedness, to the everlasting enjoyment of which only believers are made When we look to the celestial consummation of that great blessedness, we see that none but Christians can be invited guests. But when we look to the terrestrial inception of this bliss, we see that all may be called, even the chief of In the Gospels it is the latter view that is taken in connection with the word call; in the Epistles it is the former.

J. MORISON.

THE THREE CHRISTIAN SYMPATHIES.

MATT. x. 41-42.

THERE is a subject in Bible literature which does not seem to us to have yet received the attention it deserves—we mean the philosophy of Christ's aphoristic sayings. Nothing is more common than to hear a contrast drawn between the discourses of our Lord in the fourth Gospel and His deliverances in the three earlier narratives. We are directed to the fact that the former are profound, subtle, spiritual; the latter plain, homely, practical: that the former are suited to the intellectual mind, the latter mainly adapted to the capacity of the masses who toil and spin. A contrast there certainly is, but we do not think it lies where it is generally supposed to It does not seem to us that the discourses in the first three Gospels are distinguished from the discourses in the fourth by their comparative absence of depth. The difference between them is one of subject and one of form, but it is not one of mental capacity. The discourses of the first three Gospels possess a quality which is possessed by all good sermons—an appearance of simplicity which is not real. They are constructed in order to tempt the intellect of the masses to enter the temple of truth. With a view to this end truth assumes the guise of simplicity. It speaks in the vernacular language of the crowd, it clothes itself in the metaphors familiar to the common eye. Men are beguiled into the intellectual temple by the semblance of something which is the reverse of intellectual, but the moment they have entered it they shall find that they have been in the presence of angels unawares. The truth is, even from a purely secular point of view, these discourses of our Lord, furnished by the

synoptic Gospels, are amongst the deepest utterances in all literature, and if examined from this standpoint they would exhibit an array of the profoundest philosophic sentiments which have ever been uttered in the ears of men.

We have selected as an example of this one of the passages from St. Matthew's Gospel, which appears at first sight to be only a plain and practical direction to the first apostolic missionaries. Our Lord is sending forth His disciples to preach the gospel in the surrounding communities, and He does not conceal from them the dangers they shall have to encounter. He tells them that wheresoever they shall receive any personal favour, they will be quite safe in attributing it to something higher than natural kindness of disposition. They are to consider every favour done to them as really a proof of a Christian attitude on the part of the donor, as something conferred for the sake of Christianity itself; "he that receiveth you receiveth me." And then, building on this principle, our Lord goes on to state that those who manifest this attitude towards the mere emissaries of the faith shall be regarded as having manifested the attitude towards the faith itself. Instead, however, of expressing this in the form of a theological doctrine, He generalizes it into a great metaphysical principle which holds true in all departments of life-a principle which in depth and suggestiveness is in our opinion unsurpassed by any utterance of the fourth Gospel, and which, notwithstanding its practical sphere, will be found to contain the germ of all that mystical doctrine of Divine fellowship which renders the fourth Gospel so transcendental to the uninitiated mind.

Our Lord declares that there are three kinds of sympathies in the world—intellectual sympathy, moral sympathy, and practical sympathy; this is the first point to be observed in estimating the meaning of this passage. Intellectual sympathy is the power to admire the *ideas* of another; it is the power to receive the *prophet* or him who comes to reveal *truth*. Moral sympathy is the ability to admire the holy *life* of

another; it is the power to receive the *righteous* man. Practical sympathy is that humility of heart which is able to fill a man with a sense of the physical wants of those beneath him; it is the power to give a cup of cold water to those little ones whom he feels to be his fellow-disciples in the Master's school. Let us glance at each of these.

Our Lord begins with intellectual sympathy—our sympathy with the prophet, that is to say, with the religious teacher considered as an organ of inspiration. He tells us that wheresoever this sympathy with the prophet exists, the man who possesses it is himself a recipient of the same inspiration. "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward,"-that is to say, "he that receiveth a prophet because he is a prophet shall himself be counted as a prophet, shall be regarded as one in possession of the selfsame spirit." "In the name of" means "in the character of." Christ knew that it was quite possible to receive a prophet for some other motive than his character, and therefore He guards the aphorism most philosophically. He knew that an intellectual man may happen to be rich as well as intellectual. and that many who would not receive him for his power of revealing truth would gladly do so for the sake of his worldly influence. Therefore it is that our Lord pointedly states the only ground on which he who receives a prophet shall be reckoned his equal. He tells us that the revealer of truth must be received as a revealer, because he is a revealer in the character of a revealer; every other quality he possesses must in the meantime be thrown into the shade, must cease to have any glory by reason of the one all-excelling glory. so, if the prophet be received purely and unqualifiedly on account of his prophetic power, our Lord declares that the man who has thus received him has thereby vindicated his claim to be counted himself amongst the sons of the prophets, has thereby won his right to be himself regarded as a recipient of the very inspiration he admires.

Let us look now at the truth of the principle here involved. That the receiver of a prophet should be counted spiritually on a level with the man whom he receives, might appear at first sight a somewhat arbitrary distribution of justice. reality, however, the dictum of Christ is founded on the most profound intuition of truth. For, let us ask, how is it possible for any man to understand or to appreciate the greatness of another man, except by having within himself an element of the same greatness. The man who appreciates William Shakespeare as a dramatist, must himself have in him something of the spirit of Shakespeare. He may be a mute, inglorious Shakespeare, may never have written a line in his life, may never be capable of writing a line, yet if his soul has fired in beholding the delineations of the poet, he has thereby the witness within himself that he is possessed in germ of the poet's soul; he could not have received this prophet unless he were himself a prophet, and the knowledge of the community of his nature with the nature which he admires is itself his highest reward.

Now when we pass from the secular to the sacred plane, the principle is precisely the same. The truth is, it is this principle which furnishes the key to one of the profoundest discourses of the fourth Gospel-that addressed to Nicodemus in the third chapter of St. John. Nicodemus had sought to receive Christ in some other name than that of a prophet; he had professed his adhesion to Him, not on the ground of what He was, but on the ground of what He had done: "We know that Thou art a Teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that Thou doest, except God be with him." Christ's answer is striking and graphic: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Nicodemus had professed to know, and he had professed to know on purely external evidence; Christ tells him that sight must precede knowledge, and that, until he has received a kindred faculty, he cannot even see the kingdom. The idea is, that in order

to receive the Divine Prophet, or, which is the same thing, in order to recognise the Prophet as Divine, it is necessary that Nicodemus himself should be in possession of an element of divinity. He can only recognise the regal nature of the Son of man by having within his own soul somewhat of His own royalty, by being himself partaker of that nature and spirit which he admires and adores. The perfect analogue to this discourse on the second birth, and the perfect illustration of the aphoristic saying in St. Matthew, will be found in the words of commendation which our Lord addressed to Peter on receiving his confession of His own divinity, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jonas, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." The blessedness of Peter is said to consist in the fact that he is himself in possession of a nature allied to the Divine; and the proof of this is said to be that he has revealed the knowledge of a fact which he could not possibly have received from any external source; he has received a prophet in the name of a prophet, and thereby he has given incontrovertible evidence that he is in communion with the prophet's soul.

We come now to the second of those Christian sympathies adverted to by our Lord in the passage before us. The first was intellectual; the second is moral, "He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward." The idea is that the beginning of all goodness is the admiration of goodness—the appreciation or reception of those who are good. He that appreciates a righteous man because he is a righteous man, or, in other words, on account of his righteousness, even though his own life should not yet have exhibited any of those outward acts which imply righteousness, is even now to be regarded as germinally in possession of the righteous spirit. The germ of that spirit within him is his ability to admire that which is good. It is true, there is as yet a discrepancy between his

thought and his actions—a discrepancy analogous to that which even a Paul felt when he cried, "The evil that I would not, that I do: and the good that I would, that I do not." But although Paul lamented this discrepancy in his nature, he nevertheless recognised the fact that in the possession of the desire of goodness, he already possessed the germ of the spirit of Christ. He looked upon himself as already potentially liberated from the power of sin, and only awaiting his liberation from that lower or animal nature which remained with him rather as a survival of the past than as a part of his present constitution; the proof and germ of his righteousness lay in the fact that he willed the good.

Now, this principle which our Lord has enunciated in St. Matthew, will be found to recur again in the prologue of St. John: "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His To receive Christ is here said to be synonymous with believing on His name. To believe on His name is to believe in His character, i.e. in His righteousness. To believe in the righteousness of Christ is said to be the pledge and prophecy of assimilation of life to Him, of power to become the sons of God. Now here is the very doctrine of justification by faith, which plays so prominent a part in the Pauline theology. It is a doctrine which is itself justified by reason. We know as a matter of fact that a man's deeds are the last things to be affected by a change in his moral life. of his moral life which is first affected is his faculty of admiration. He begins to display the germ of goodness in that moment when he is able to say, I believe in goodness. When the Son of man came into this world. He came into it as goodness personified—as the way, the truth, and the life. He came into it in order that its inhabitants might become partakers of His goodness, recipients of the righteousness that was within Him. The Son of man looked eagerly for the test of such a birth-hour in humanity, but where did He look for

that test? He saw that the outward acts of men, the outward acts even of His own followers, were as yet the reverse of righteous, but He did not therefore infer that their lives were not in union with His own. He knew that the first test of such an union was the power of His disciples to see; He estimated their nearness to Himself and their possibilities of future holiness by their capacity to admire His own beauty. "Come unto me," Whenever a man revealed such an admiration for His person, He accepted it as an indication that the man was himself in possession of the same spirit. His life might outwardly be far removed from his standard of admiration, but that standard was the prophetic measure of him. Our Lord saw clearly that the immediate effect of such a new ideal of righteousness within the heart would be to render the man thoroughly uncomfortable, completely dissatisfied with his former self. Therefore it was that, in giving His first call to His disciples, He made their earliest qualification to consist in this very sense of discomfort. He called to Him the labouring and the heavy-laden—those who had arrived at a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present nature of things. He knew that it was impossible for them to have arrived at such a feeling unless they had first caught sight of something better. It would not be possible for them to have seen the lowliness of their own valleys unless their eyes had already rested on the delectable mountains. To be labouring and heavy-laden was not, therefore, a merely negative quality; it was the proof and indication of a very positive possession. It was the evidence that these men had caught a view of something which was as yet beyond their practical experience, and outside the range of their actions. It indicated that while yet themselves unrighteous, they had been able to discern the righteousness of a perfect Son of man. The power to discern that vision was imputed to them for righteousness-imputed not in an arbitrary way, but because it was really the germ of the flower, the prophecy of the summer that was yet to be;

they had received into their sympathy a righteous man, and they obtained a righteous man's reward.

This brings us to the third class of sympathies with which our Lord deals in the passage before us. To distinguish it from the two preceding orders we have called it practical. It is the sympathy which a man feels, not for another's intellect, nor for another's righteousness, but simply for another's physical wants: "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." It does not seem to us, however, that the contrast in Christ's mind lies between the intellect, the righteousness, and the physical want. The Revised Version evidently thinks it does, for it punctuates the passage thus: "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only," i.e. "even were it no more than a cup of cold water." It seems to us that the punctuation which would correspond to Christ's own thought would be: "Whosoever shall give a cup of cold water, only in the name of a disciple"-in no other capacity than that of a fellow-learner. The three terms contrasted in our Lord's view are the prophet, the righteous man, and the disciple, and they are contrasted in the degree of their intensity. The prophet is the organ of inspiration, and therefore he has the highest place. The righteous man is the man who has followed the path pointed out by inspiration, and therefore he has the second place. The disciple is the man who as yet is only in the school where righteousness is taught, and therefore he cannot claim more than the position of a learner. To receive a man in the character of a prophet is to receive him because he is inspired, that is to say, because he has the spirit of God within him. To receive a man in the name of righteousness is to receive him on the ground of his goodness, that is to say, because the life of God is emanating from him. But to give a cup of cold water to one who is only a disciple is to receive one who is not yet either inspired by God, or living the life of God. It is therefore an act which proceeds from a different motive from either of the two preceding ones—a motive which at first sight might seem to lie on a different plane. The first two acts were clearly and distinctively acts of religion; each of them was done for the sake of God. But this cup of cold water is given purely for the sake of man. It is given in the name of a disciple, that is to say, it is given, not as in the former cases by an inferior to a superior, but by a man to his equal—and because he is his equal. It is given by a man to the brother who occupies an inferior social position to himself, but whose inferiority he refuses to recognise. The ground on which he refuses to recognise it is the ground of a common discipleship—the fact that both are equally inferiors in relation to that higher Divine law in whose school they are He has therefore performed a purely each learners. humanitarian deed, a deed whose motive is not what the world commonly calls religious, but what is habitually stamped with the name of secular.

Yet Christ declares that this seemingly secular act shall itself receive the imputation of a religious service, shall be counted as a deed whose well-spring is the Spirit of God. He says in effect that the man who performs a temporal kindness to his brother man, merely because he is his brother man, shall be considered as having in that act transcended the sphere of the temporal. Giving only in the name of a disciple, only in the character of a fellow-learner, he shall be looked upon as having in this very attitude of humiliation exhibited the spirit of the Master: "he shall in no wise lose his reward"

Nor is it difficult to see that in this seemingly secular aspect the life of the man is really revealing a very grand phase of the Master's spirit. For let it be remembered, that the Son of man Himself exhibited this practical sympathy in addition to the two preceding ones. He strove to reveal

Himself as the prophet, and therefore in parabolic teaching He broke the bread of truth: He strove to reveal Himself as the righteous, and therefore in sacramental devotion He broke the bread of life. But there is another bread which belongs neither to the prophet as a prophet, nor to the righteous man as righteous, but simply to man as man-the physical bread won by daily toil. This bread also was broken by the hand of Jesus, and in breaking it He entered into a more universal relation with humanity than in any other phase of His being. It was here that He became distinctively the sympathizer with man as man. prophet He sympathized with those who had the germ of the revelation in them; as a sanctifier He sympathized with those who had the germ of righteousness in them, but as a breaker of temporal bread He sympathized with men as such. The multitude to whom He distributed the loaves in the desert were related to Him as yet by no other tie than the tie of a common humanity. to them in all beside, He felt himself to be one with them in respect of a physical nature, which needed to be fed and nourished, and He was willing in the meantime to forget the points of superiority in the recognition of that humanity which united Him to them. He took the place of a fellow-disciple in that great school of Providence, where all men equally are constrained to pray for daily bread, and it was in the name and character of a fellow-disciple that He gave the bread to them.

Now it is in the recognition of this fact of His own experience that our Lord impresses on His disciples the value of practical sympathy. He tells them that however secular may seem the act of giving a cup of cold water to a worldly inferior only because he is a fellow-being, it is in reality an act which unites a man to the Divine life as truly as the recognition of a prophet or the appreciation of a righteous soul. In giving that cup of cold water on the ground of a

common humanity, they are reproducing the sacrificial spirit of Him who identified Himself with the physical needs of those with whose physical nature He had as yet nothing in They, too, therefore shall inherit a reward analogous to that inherited by the receivers of the prophet and the righteous man. As the reward of him who received the prophet was to be esteemed a partaker in the spirit of the prophet, as the reward of him who received the righteous was to be deemed a recipient of the spirit of righteousness, so the reward of him who gives the cup of cold water only in the character of a disciple shall be to be himself regarded as endued with the spirit of the Master. The very power to take a place of equality with those who are circumstantially placed beneath Him shall itself be esteemed a possession of the spirit of Him who, "though in the form of God, thought equality with God a thing not to be snatched at, but emptied Himself of His glory and took the servant's form."

GEORGE MATHESON.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE MYSTERIES.

St. Augustine, in a work containing his latest and ripest thoughts, expressed himself as follows:—" What is now called the Christian religion, existed already among the ancients, and never failed from the beginning of mankind, until Christ came in the flesh; then, men began to call the religion already subsisting, Christian."

In a similar sense Mr. Max Müller has observed that what is true of Language, is true also of Religion. All that is new in it is old, and all that is old is new, so that from the beginning of history there has never been an entirely new From this point of view, the antagonism of Christianity to heathenism, represented by St. Paul and the line of Fathers down to Augustine, is not the antagonism of an absolutely true to an absolutely false religion, but the protest of true religion against the corruptions introduced by human ignorance and sins. The saying of Augustine offers a fine text to the student of the history of religions. His interest will be concentred upon this object: the discovery of the lineaments of that one true religion which was from the beginning; the bringing to light from amidst the confused lore of the nations, the prime inscription, the "law written upon the heart;" more ancient and more enduring than parchments or tables of stone. The religious traditions of the nations present themselves as one vast Palimpsest, much bescribbled with follies and obscenities; which, however, once cleared away by patient thought and toil, may suffer us here and there to gain a glimpse of some Alpha or Omega, "some fine fair upstroke" of that older Scripture.

¹ I. Retract. i. 13.

But the history of religions is an immense study. The materials have not yet been sufficiently amassed; and even if they were, the very methods and principles of a Science of Religions have yet to be laid. On the nature of the soul, the origin of ideas, especially of Divine Being, on the nature of the gods of the Gentiles in the belief of their worshippers: our philosophers are not in agreement. So long as the foundations remain unlaid, the mere piling up of masses of facts can be of little service. Facts, as Mr. H. Spencer has remarked, have a wonderful tendency to "assimilate themselves" to a fixed and foregone hypothesis; of which remark we think we see a conspicuous illustration in some of his own works.

Under these conditions, there must be long division and subdivision of labour; and it will probably lead to more fruitful results, if individual students will cultivate thoroughly some limited portion of the vast field of inquiry, than if by hasty analogies and scrambling comparisons, a more comprehensive survey is aimed at.

Our subject is Christianity and the Greek Mysteries,-in other words. Christianity and the old heathen religions of Greece. We seek for answers, as precise as the present state of our knowledge on those subjects will admit, to the following questions. What were the ancient Mysteries in the thought and belief of the people? What is the relation of Christianity to those institutions and the ideas connected with them? part, we know, it was a relation of the most strenuous and irreconcilable opposition; and the reasons are obvious enough. But were there other points of spiritual sympathy and unity between the old and the new? Our New Testament is written in the Greek language. It contains words, phrases, ideas, allusions, which must have carried the minds of all who understood the language back to the Mysteries and their better associations. How far may we trace the influence of the gospel in cleansing the old heathen vocabulary and imparting to it a new and holier power of suggestion? And

then, in the development of our religion down to Constantine, how far did the influence of the Mysteries again reassert itself in the Christian Church in the reserve of the "Discipline of the Secret"? In general, in what sense are we to understand the contrast between things open and things hidden in our religion; between a multitude that must be taught in parables and an initiate few who partake of a deeper knowledge? what evidence is there for theories propounded in our time respecting an original esoteric Christianity, gradually unveiled by the teaching of the apostle of the Gentiles and by the fourth Gospel? Such are some of the general lines of our inquiry—an inquiry which, as it seems to us, has its practical bearing on the needs of our times. We are confronted at home and abroad with a great mass of heathenism, in the presence of which the polemics of sectarian theology seem of faint interest and of secondary importance. We look into the mirror of the past to gain a clearer view of the relations of the present; and in whatever department of toil we may be engaged, our need is to obtain distincter conceptions of the nature of our religion, and of the tendencies of the world to which it stands, now, as in the earlier days, opposed, and of those with which it ever has been in deepest sympathy.

What, then, were the Greek Mysteries? The earlier investigators of this subject, among whom the best known names are those of Warburton, Sainte-Croix, and Creuzer, approached it under certain prepossessions, and took up positions which subsequent criticism has shown to be untenable. Misled by the later doctrinal significance of the word, the notion of the mystics in general was that from the earliest times there had been in existence a priestly or learned class of men in possession of theological and physical doctrines unknown to the vulgar; and that those doctrines have found embodiment in the Greek mythology. Lobeck, in his masterly work Aglaophamus, sifted the evidence upon which those conclusions were supposed to rest, and showed that the

mystics, by their neglect of literary method, had been confounding the earlier with the later elements of Greek culture. and had inverted, so to speak, the true perspective of the Homer is silent concerning mysteries and orgies; even so elementary a religious act as purification from bloodguilt is by him ignored, although he has several cases of the ritual flight after homicide. Now the Mysteries invariably began with the act of purification. Then again, as to the assumed existence of a body of priests or wise men, deposi2 taries of an esoteric doctrine concerning God and nature, there is no evidence, from the Homeric time downward, that the priests ever enjoyed a superior culture, or were the objects of a peculiar reverence on the part of the people. was a mere functionary, and his functions were but limited. His chief qualification was a fine voice, for the use of recitation and prayer. Education was no more indispensable in his case than it is in that of a papa of the Greek Church of the present day. And if the priests knew no more than the people, neither is there any ground for imagining that any other class or clique, before the rise of the sophists, laid claim to the possession of superior wisdom. notion of a doctrine in connection with the Mysteries melts away before steady attention to literary and historical evidence; and in place of it, the general fact appears that the Mysteries were a ritual, a ceremonial observance, a dramatic function, in which the "things said" (τὰ λεγόμενα) were few, and of secondary importance compared with the "things done" (τὰ δρώμενα).

Before passing on, it may be well to make one observation on the defective side of Lobeck's work. As a negative critic he is irresistible, and his work may be regarded as an enduring bulwark against that distasteful tendency to make "anything out of anything," and to turn "everything into something else," by the aid of random analogies, and wild etymologies, and confused perspectives—which passes by the

But Lobeck himself was tempted to fall name of Mysticism. into the other extreme; and where Sainte-Croix, followed by Creuzer, had exaggerated the import of the Mysteries, he, on the other hand, attempted to depreciate the testimonies of antiquity itself to the solemn character of those rites, and the blessed effects which were believed to flow from them. appears to have compared in his own mind the great festival of Eleusis with the splendid ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church, and to have thought that in each case external attractions were sufficient to account for the hold of the institution upon the popular imagination. But neither the splendour and greatness of the Athenian state, nor the number and fame of its patriotic writers, nor the magnificence of the spectacles in the Eleusinian temple, could account for the profound belief on which the institution rested. Mysteries were not doctrines, they were sacraments. were addressed not to the ear, but to the eye, and through the eye to the imagination and belief of the worshippers. They were mimetic of the actions and sufferings of gods, with whom men stood in a kind of covenant relation. institutes of salvation, as salvation was understood in the heathen world, including deliverance from bodily sickness, as well as from guilt and future punishment. For such salvation there was a great craving in the Greek popular mind in the time of Christ and the apostles, and the earlier centuries of the Christian era; and in part it enables us to understand the progress of the gospel among the masses, when we recognise how it offered, in a purer and deeper way, satisfaction of those very wants which the Mysteries failed to supply.

But first to make good what has been said concerning the general belief in the saving effects of initiation into the Mysteries. If once we lay to heart what some of the foremost spirits of antiquity said upon this subject, it will be felt that the Mysteries themselves are worthy our most serious

¹ Aglaoph. p. 44.

It will prepare us to appreciate those testimonies, if we first revert to Homer, and seek to detect those stirrings: of spiritual conviction and hope which from the first were felt in the conscience of the people. The poetry of the Iliad is not expressly religious, and it seems to us that it would be as fallacious to look into its fine artistic representations of patriarchal and heroic life for what was deepest in the religious life of the people, as to seek to discover the passionate Puritanism of Scotland in the lays of Sir Walter Religious subjects are treated allusively in the Iliad, and in subordination to art. Yet even thus, a deep current of serious reflection on the mystery of the soul, its worth and destiny, breaks in, and imparts a solemn beauty to the flow of poetic eloquence. Such a passage is that in the 9th Iliad. where Achilles says that not all the treasures of the Ilion of yore, nor of the sacred Floor of Pytho, sanctuary of Apollo, can be equivalent to his soul, his life.1 "The redemption of the soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever."

> "Of oxen and of sheep Successful forays may good store provide; And tripods may be gained, and noble steeds; But when the breath of man hath pass'd his lips, Nor strength nor foray can the loss revair." 2

Then there are the implicit confessions of the insufficiency of the present life, in the touching similes which compare the race of men to the race of leaves, now flourishing in the grove in spring-time, now strewed by the wind upon the ground in decay.⁸ Never, probably, is this sense of the value and yet of the vanity of human life, disjoined from the present sense of sin, the need of purification and atonement, and the looking for judgment to come. It is not so in Homer. In the first *Iliad*, Agamemnon commands a purification of the tribes, preparatory to the offering of hecatombs of bulls and goats to Apollo. A literal "washing away of filth" follows,

¹ Il. 9. 401 ff.

² Lord Derby's transl. 2 B

³ *IL* 6. 146, 21. 463.

and the sordes are thrown into the all-purifying sea.1 Such ceremonies are unintelligible except as figures of the felt need of the soul; and here we have undoubtedly sacramental religion, with the blessings and also with the dangers attached to it, which have been manifest in every age. significant is the passage where Hektor refuses the wine-cup. lest it should enervate him, and dreads to offer a libation to Zeus with "unwashen hands," and declares that one may not put up prayer to him, while bespattered with homicidal blood.2 Compare with this the scene where Achilles takes the cup from which no man had drunk, and no libation had been poured except to Zeus Father. He first "cleanses" it, he then washes it in running water, as also his hands. libation and the prayer follow.³ The need of ceremonial purity is recognised in reference to place as well as to person; the assembly of the Trojans must be held on a "clean" spot, that is, one free from corpses.4

Ceremonial religion always springs originally from the needs of the conscience; and the faithful practice of it reflects, with more or less distinctness, some spiritual truth upon the conscience again. And when we find in the Hesiodic Works and Days the exhortation to perform the rites in honour of the gods with "pure mind and pure body" (ἀγνῶς κ. καθαρῶς), we may suppose this to represent the feeling of the early times.

That Homeric religion was not merely sacramental, and that it included a strong regard to moral obligations, may be seen from those passages which refer to future retribution. The duty of truthfulness is sternly recognised in awful imprecations upon them that forswear themselves, and their children. "May their brain flow to the ground like this wine" of libation, and their wives serve other lords. In the underworld, perjurers are punished by the Erinyes, the very

¹ Il. 1. 312.

² Il. 6. 265.

³ Il. 16, 228 ff.

⁴ Il. 8. 491.

⁵ Il. 3, 276,

impersonations of Divine vengeance, watchful of the evil-doer from their haunts in the gloom. In the Works and Days, similarly, perjury is marked out for especial punishment; Oath, Horkos, is penalty personified. On the whole, however, it is distinctly under the sanction of temporal rather than of eternal rewards and punishments that men are conceived as living, both in Homer and in Hesiod. The Works and Days, being religious poetry, present closer points of comparison with the teaching of the Psalms and the Proverbs of the Old Testament than the Homeric epos. But neither in Homer nor in Hesiod do we find distinct views of the certainty that men's lot in the future life will be strictly according to their deeds in the present. To one hero, Menelaus, it is promised that he shall not die in Argos, but shall be sent to the Elysian plain by the Immortals,—a happy seat, like the "island-valley of Avilion" of Tennyson's Morte d'Arthur:

> "Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow, Nor ever wind blows loudly."

But he is not to go thither because of his virtue, but because he possesses Helen, and is son-in-law of Zeus.²

How far we are here from those "sweeter hopes concerning the end of life and eternity" (in the words of Isocrates) which they enjoyed, who had taken part in the sacraments of Eleusis!

And now to draw some general conclusions. We cannot understand Greek religion unless we apprehend from the first the great variety of tribal religions and traditions which from the earliest times composed that religion. The Homeric bard (or bards) belonged, as we believe on internal evidence, to the great Achaian clan. The god of that clan was Zeus, and their religion was of a simple and patriarchal cast. Other gods and goddesses, Hades and Persephoné, Démétér, Dionysos, all of them connected with the Mysteries of Eleusis, receive slight notice in Homer. Yet the cultus of these

1 Il. 9. 449, 565, 19. 258; Od. 2. 135, 17. 475.

2 Od. 4, 561 ff.

deities was an important fact in the life of the people in historical times. A great religious development, partly for evil, partly for good, set in. The spiritual affluence of Greece and its spiritual decline may be traced to the same The simple and expressive ritualism of Homeric religion gave place to a system more elaborate, and at last so intricate and confused, that it cannot now be reconstructed. There was an influx of orginstic rites from the East. people eagerly identified foreign deities with the ancient gods of their fathers, and willingly subjected themselves to every kind of deisidæmonia. Every city was crowded with temples. altars, tombs of departed heroes. Pausanias, travelling through the land in the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, gives us a faithful picture of what the popular religion had long been. It was decaying and ready to pass away from excess of life. It had become separated from any living connection with morality, and consisted mainly in superstitious observances. upheld by lower hopes and fears of the multitude and for the profit of its ministers. The relation of St. Paul to the heathen priests was analogous to that of Luther to the friar Tetzel in the time of the Reformation. The gospel came with its offers of free justification by Divine grace to a multitude of poor slaves, who had known of nothing but a mercenary salvation: with a simple and sublime theology to imaginations long confused by a crowd of deities, known and unknown; with the proclamation of the need of personal holiness to consciences defiled by communion with dæmons; with good hopes after death to minds through fear of it in lifelong bondage.

On the other hand, when the facts as a whole are placed before us, it will be admitted that there was up to a certain point a true development in pagan religious ideas. In particular, this holds good of the idea of the future life. In Homer, life in another world offers but a gloomy prospect, the pale colourless reflex of life on the earth. In so far as the 11th Odyssey may be taken as evidence of the feelings of the

early time, men must have felt with the great Achilles, that the lot of the meanest serf was preferable to kingship in the realm of the departed. Or, if we look at the glimpses of Elysium afforded us, or of the Isles of the Blessed, it would seem that the hope of those blissful seats was reserved to the heroes, the freemen of the Achaians, much as in the German traditions, where princes and noble warriors who have fallen in battle pass to Odhin, while Thor takes the serfs to himself, and the goddess Hel rules in the kingdom of the dead.

But when we come to Pindar, we shall find a nobler view of future blessedness, a state reserved indeed for those who have received a due sacramental initiation, but not independently of a just and pure life on this side of eternity. And in Plato we shall find hints of the ethical sense which is couched in sacraments, and forecasts of the great truth which the gospel emphasizes, that without holiness no man shall see God.

E. JOHNSON.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

Some spirit-stirring words have reached us from you side the Atlantic. "It has been the glory of the Church of England, a glory which the daughter Church in America has proudly claimed as her heritage, that she left her clergy free to think as best they could upon the intellectual aspects of the Bible... and to teach their people such views of these sacred books as their own studies might lead them to form." All praise to Mr. Heber Newton for his unpretentious.—at the same time clever, scholarly sketches of the history of the Pentateuch,1 its Composite Structure, its Authorship and Growth; of the "Primeval Sagas" of the Creation, Deluge, etc., and the traditions of the Patriarchs. He has endeavoured not to hide from his flock anything profitable, but to give them the benefit of the results of modern research on these subjects. Mr. Newton's bishop, however, requested him-in fact (speaking in the vernacular) to shut up,-and so the freely-flowing fountain of popular biblical oral instruction opened by Mr. Newton in New York City has ceased there, to reappear in book form for the good of the world in general. We know not the bishop's reasons for his action: there is generally somebody in the shape of a "Mrs. Proudie" or "Mrs. Grundy" in a bishop's background. But one cannot help feeling that these are not the times when in any branch of the Church anything should be done to discourage that manly frankness and candour in religious teaching, and in the clerical character, shown by Mr. Newton.

The object of the book is to place before English readers the tradition common to the Synoptics. In a very clever Introduction, Dr. Abbott shows his skill in placing scholarly subjects clearly before the English reader; while in his hints to the student of the Greek Testament, he has pointed out a mode of literary amusement (with the red, black, and blue ink) of a keenly intellectual kind (p. xxvi). He has some words of solace for those who are distressed at the discovery of the uncertainty and variation of the text of the Christian books, falling back on his favourite theory of education by means of illusions,—in other words, by means of dissolving views. There is some curious

¹ The Book of the Beginnings: A Study of Genesis. By R. Heber Newton, Rector of All Souls', New York. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 311.

² The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. E. A. Abbott, D.D., and W. G. Rushbrooke, M.L. London: Macmillan. 1884. Pp. xxxix, 156.

talk here, which one does not see the necessity of lacing scholarly consideration with (p. xxv). The fourth Gospel has vanished from Dr. Abbott's screen already; and we see before us a slender "common tradition" in thick black type as the original of the others. in turn should become indistinct and melt, what then? It is useless to disguise the entire revolution in popular religious thought that must follow the recognition of the literary facts here so clearly laid The question is, if our knowledge of Christianity is derived ultimately from an anonymous and obscure tradition, what becomes of Christian faith? We don't think Dr. Abbott as happy in his mysticism as in his criticism. Mr. Browning has answered the question more suo in more than one of his poems, including one in his last book, also very mystically; but then he is on his "native heath" in mysticism. To say that "an Evil Being makes falsehood error and illusion, which are then made stepping-stones by God to a higher truth," seems to us neither good rhetoric, nor sound psychology, theology, nor even common sense. One does not like to see a clearthinking man escaping from the pursuit of his own arguments, like a cuttle-fish, in such an inky cloud. The question of the Appendix to St. Mark's Gospel is argued out by Dr. Abbott fairly and calmly. He does not, like a certain dean, call upon Zeus, and Helios, and the earth, and the furies, and the infernal powers in support of his critical The paragraph on "the Confusion of the Common Tradition" is also highly ingenious and shrewd. On one little point we may offer a note. In Mark xiv. 65 (cf. Matt. xxvi. 67, 68) the obscurity of the soldiers' saying to Jesus, "Prophesy!" is noted, which is made clear by Luke's reference to the blindfolding (p. viii). The fact is, the allusion is to a boyish game called by the Greeks kollabismos, in which a player is blindfolded, and is required to guess (prophesy) the name of the boy who cuffs him. The brief description in Mark and Matthew was probably well understood. See the works of Becq de Fouquières and Grasberger on ancient games.

Mr. Browning's latest book 1 contains much good theology, which he puts forward under the garb of a Persian dervish, in conversation and parable. In "The Eagle," he shows that in Nature, in the life and instincts of animals, there are riddles, which may be read to personal profit in diverse ways. The sage comes upon a motherless and gaping brood of eaglets in the wood: suddenly swoops down a generous eagle with flesh for their supply. Ferishtah compares

¹ Ferishtah's Fancies. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1885. Pp. 143.

himself with the eaglets, and goes home to trust in Providence for his food, but is warned in a dream that he ought to have made the helpful strength of the eagle his example; so he resolves to "work, eat, and feed who lack," and hies to Ispahan. There he meets "The Melon-Seller" in rags, once prime minister of the Shah, who teaches him the lesson of Job. Instead of dwelling on the fact that God has appointed him a day of woe in dire contrast with twelve years' former bliss, he dwells on that joy with thankfulness, as one unworthy of it. In "Shah Abbas," the problem of subjective and objective truth in reference to the life of Jesus is obliquely touched upon. Viewed as a picture, a dream, the story of "The Lord Ali" is true, is beautiful. But was it deed and fact? It was attested by many. Yes, but equally the strange story of the Shah, his exploits and his death, was unanimously attested. There was one eyewitness in this case. For all that, does Ferishtah believe the story? The sage replies, "Amend thy faulty nomenclature." Belief, "belief 'indeed," must not be confounded with easy assent to stories not worth the trouble of disputing. Suppose somebody is to be taxed on the assumption that the legend of the Shah's death was historic fact, and that the ancestors of the living were concerned in it, what demand for proof would arise! and what scepticism, where all before was unquestioning acquiescence! It seems then, upon inquiry, that both the myth of the Shah and the beautiful passage in Lord Ali's life are equally "unevidenced," in the strict sense of the word. Yet Ferishtah loves and weeps when he hears the tale of Lord Ali. though he knows too well what belief means, to say he believes. In short, Heart and Head are in conflict with each other. And what does God say to such a state of the soul? The answer is given in another parable. Ishak was seen to die in battle; so twenty soldiers For all that, he was coming back, cured of his wounds; so a mule-boy brought word. One of Ishak's sons (= "Heart") believed the good news of the mule-boy instantly, the other (="Head") treated the tale as "unevidenced," and refused to believe it, in the face of the testimony of the twenty. In ten years' time Ishak does come back; and the simple townsfolk bid the believing son go out to meet him with joy, the sceptic to hide himself. Ferishtah is not like "those simpletons." What if the believing son had grudged the father's return? What if the unbelieving son had been disgusted with the heritage secured by a loved father's death? In such case, belief would have been associated with blame, and praise with disbelief. As it is, both sons are equally loving, and both equally dear to the father.

"A fool were Ishak if he failed to prize

Mere head's work less than heart's work; no fool he!

Is God less wise? Resume the roll! They did."

In "The Family," the chief point of the tale is made against scientific sciolism and arrogance. Is not Prayer the attempt to substitute "man's will for God's" !-- that is the question. Answer: a certain mother had a poisoned limb, and a skilful hakim pronounced that amputation was necessary to save life. The husband gently acquiesced in the decision, with a sigh. The eldest son pleaded that all other means of cure should first be tried. The next impetuously insisted that the limb should be saved. The youngest brother insisted on unquestioning submission to the sage, and on immediate The hakim represents God in His Wisdom. husband represents the swift and sure intelligence of angels. The first and second son stand for humanity, right-headed and wrongheaded, duty united with calm intelligence, or rashness united with kindness. The voungest is a forward "chit," who apes wisdom beyond his years, and becomes inhuman. Moral: "Be man and nothing more "-neither angel nor brute. The kneeling posture befits a man "till death touch his eyes, and show God granted most, denying all."

In "The Sun" he expounds the idea of the Incarnation in a manner somewhat similar to that adopted in poems of an earlier date. God is in man, as the fire is in the flint, or as solar fire pervades an earthly substance. The story of the Incarnation holds an idea which meets the immense yearnings of the human heart. Whatever the critical worth of the story as a story, we stand in awe of the conception contained in it, and are convinced that it corresponds to an eternal reality, though we may be reviled as fools for so thinking. The mystery of pain is treated in "Mihrab Shah," and the solution of the problem found in this—that in a world devoid of pain, there would be no room for "thanks to God or love to man." The affectionate union of two persons depends largely on the existence of mutually compensating strengths and weaknesses. In "The Camel-Driver," future punishment is discussed. "Ignorance that sins" is safe;" knowing, wilful sin is punished by memory, by remorse. "That I call Hell; why further punishment?" Over-punished wrong cannot be right; the serpent-tooth of Conscience is enough. In "The Two Camels," we are taught the folly of self-denial for its own sake, and the wisdom of refusing no honest enjoyment that may help us through our day's work; and in "Cherries," thankfulness for common comforts, as a lowly offering from the lowly to the giver; in

"A Bean-Stripe," a most clever and cheerful refutation of pessimism, mingled with sharp satire. And this is not all; the little book is gold throughout. It endears the author to us; it casts back light on his long life-toils, and illustrates their earnest purpose of ministration to the needs of men's souls, amidst all the restless excursions of an extraordinary genius.

WE have pleasure in commending the very useful Manual of Dr. Stapfer. 1 Here we have competent learning, with the results conveved in a style as lucid and agreeable as that of a leading article in the Times. The work falls into two parts,—(1) the Social, (2) the Religious Life of Palestine at the Time of our Lord. Dr. Stapfer begins with a critical estimate of the three Literary Sources named on the title-page. We will refer to his views on the Talmuds, as a point on which the ordinary student most needs guidance. "Talmuds" he includes the Mischna, or text, with the Gemaras, its development, though, to speak more accurately, the Talmuds are but the Gemaras. Upon the Mischna he draws in the present volume: it is short and easy to consult; while the Gemaras present an intolerable rubbish heap, with here and there a precious pearl. "But what a contrast between the Gospel and the Talmuds! The imagination is confounded when one reflects that the two books came from Palestine at about the same epoch. Sometimes we are told that Christianity was the natural product of the Judaism of the time, and that most of the precepts of the Gospel had been uttered before the Christian era; that 'the noble and gentle Hillel was the elder brother of Jesus.' Now, these statements have no correspondence to historical reality. The Pirké Aboth, the best treatise of the Mischna, is separated by an abyss from the morality of the Gospel. We have studied the Judaism of the time of Jesus with the greatest sympathy, anxious to find it nearer to the New Testament than Christians commonly suppose, and to discover the forerunners of Christ. even believed in this discovery beforehand. Elsewhere (Les Idées religieuses en Palestine, etc., c. xii.) we spoke of 'liberals' preceding Christ, and preparing the way for a reform. But here we avow that a more attentive study of Judaism in the first century has modified our views. The Gospel was prepared for by the Old Testament prophets, in nowise by the Rabbins and the schools of the scribes. Hillel was never a liberal in the true sense of the word.

¹ La Palestine au Temps de Jésus Christ, d'après la Nouveau Testament, l'Historien Flavius Joséphe, et les Talmuds. Par Edmond Stapfer, Doct. en Théol., etc. Paris : Fischbacher. 1885. Pp. 531.

but a casuist all his life like the others. We must have done with the pleasantry of his liberalism. The Talmuds, which we have studied with the hope of finding something of truth and greatness, of breadth, of air that one can breathe, and of life for the soul, are the most incomprehensible and tiresome farrage that can be imagined. None will contradict us, except the modern Jews. The Gospel was the light shining suddenly out of the womb of darkness. It contradicts the thoughts and utterances of the time: it was an implacable reaction against the existing state of things. Its sudden appearance can in no other way be explained. Absolute is the contrast between the doctrine of Jesus and that of the scribes. He was given to men.— 'delivered' to them by God. Such is the impartial result—scientific and disinterested—of our long toils. We bless God that he put it into our heart to undertake a study from which we rise with a faith thus justified" (pp. 25 f.). At the end M. Stapfer cites Renan's words: "Jesus will not be surpassed; among the sons of men there has been no greater than Jesus." He adds: "These words are among the most Christian that have ever been written. Jesus must be surpassed, a greater man must be born, before we can have done with Christianity, and its day can go by. That will never happen. therefore we Christians affirm that Christianity is eternal, and that it is the truth." He believes he has strong critical ground for opposing the position of Havet, that nothing positive can be affirmed of Jesus (p. 466). It would seem that Dr. Edersheim's book only came to the author's hands after the completion of his own work (see Errata). Readers will be glad to compare the references in the two authors to many points of rabbinical lore.

FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Sept., Oct. 1884. M. Massebieau, who has considered some of the leading German and French studies of the Didaché (edited by Bryennios), presents his general conclusions. Part I. (Catechesis) he thinks must date from before 100 A.D., and was probably of Roman origin. As it contains little Christian matter,—with the exception of what relates to the Sermon on the Mount,—its substance may be Judæo-Hellenic teaching, designed for the numerous pagans who desired to embrace the law of Moses. Part II. A. Baptism, Fasting, The Lord's Prayer, The Eucharist. Here also the ritual ascends to early times,—in particular, with reference to the Lord's Supper, to a time when the Agapé was

entirely identified with it. Zahn, on the other hand, holds that the Agapé comes immediately after the Supper, in the directions. B. Relations with Stranger Christians, The Prophets. The recognised "doctors" of knowledge are to be received and honoured "as the Lord." and to be entertained at the expense of the Church. the apostles (or missionaries) likewise. But if one of these stays over two days, or accepts money, he is a "false prophet." prophets in the stricter sense are distinguished by inspiration, as the doctors by knowledge. The practical test of a good life (cf. Matt. vii. 15, 16) must be applied to distinguish the true from the false prophet. The main argument of the critics, who see in the Didaché a Montanist work, is drawn from the passage where the faithful are directed to give all the first-fruits to the prophets-" for they are your high priests." Massebieau, however, compares 1 Cor. xii. 28 f., Rom, xii, 7 ff.; and thinks that the good sense of the Didaché does not here nor elsewhere favour Montanist exaltation. C. Purity and Union. The Coming of the Lord. The directions with respect to bishops and deacons throw light on the struggle in the Church of Corinth between the "spirit of initiative" and the "spirit of order." In the references to the coming of the Lord may be recognised the basis of the great passage in St. Matthew on the last times, but with more simplicity and order, and with some notable differences: one of the most so being the appearance of the Tempter or Antichrist. theology of the book, judging by the Eucharistic prayers, is very simple and unpolemical: neither anti-Gnostic, nor anti-Montanist (Bryennios), nor Montanist (Hilgenfeld and Bonet-Maury). destiny was at first brilliant: it was used as a part of the body of Scripture in certain churches, especially in Egypt. At the beginning of the 3rd century, hierarchic and theological considerations led to its being set aside, and was gradually forgotten. After Nicephorus of the 9th century, the last who is known to have had it under his eyes was the scribe Leon of the 11th century, whose transcription has come into the hands of the metropolitan Bryennios.

M. Bonet-Maury's views are in brief—(1) that the first author of the compilation was a Judæo-Christian of Alexandria (c. 130-140), whose manual was designed for catechumens and proselytes; (2) about 150-160, the same author (or church) added a liturgy of Baptism and the Eucharist, with other ecclesiastical directions; (3) about 200, some Asiatic church under Montanist influence made "rigorist additions;" (4) 50 or 100 years later, an orthodox writer effaced from the book all that had an Ebionite or apostolic stamp, and introduced the sacramental rites and the ecclesiastical privileges of his time.

M. Jean Réville's Revue pays a high compliment to the labours of Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Gebhardt, and Harnack on this subject. It takes occasion to remark that France is behind Germany, Holland, and even in some points England, in religious science, and earnestly protests against the abolition of the "few wretched chairs" set apart by the University of France to this subject.

M. Baissac 1 has a second and concluding article on the "New Theosophy"—the odd jumble of physiologico-mystico-theologico-alogical notions termed "Esoteric Buddhism," and associated with the names of Madame Blavatzsky, Mr. Simnett, and others.

THERE is an extremely interesting article on "The Maiden with the Hands cut off"—a folk-tale very extensively diffused in some of its leading features. M. Puymaigre shows how, entering the sphere of history, and taking upon itself the guise of history, the tale of the wicked father and the persecuted daughter was used to explain the origin of the long wars between France and England in the Middle Ages, and other similar events. He refuses—as well he may—to regard the story as a myth of Winter and Spring.

Zeitschr. f. Kirchliche Wissenschaft, Heft 9, 1884.

WE recently adverted to the articles of Dr. Bonwetsch on "Prophecy in the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Age." From the latter article we extract what bears upon the "Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles" (Bryennice).—The Διδαχή, together with the "Shepherd of Hermas," throw much light on the development of prophecy in the post-apostolic age. Hermas lays claim to revelations which he is to impart to the community (Vis. ii. 1, 3, iii. 3, 1, iii. 8, 10). They are to be read in the presence of all the elect, are to be used for the edification of widows and orphans, and to be sent to foreign communities (ii. 4, 2). These revelations were said to be imparted to him by the Holy Spirit, who "spoke with him in the form of the Church." He was also instructed by an angel (Vis. v., Sim. ix. 1). The object of the visions and the similes is the moral renewal of the Church by repentance (Vis. v. 7, Sim. ix. 33, 1). Fasting is occasionally requisite for the reception of the revelations, or they come to him while he is in prayer. Or, "the Spirit seizes him, and bears him away." He sees Heaven opened, and reads or hears read as in a book. revelations. The result is a general impression, which he cannot clearly apprehend. Again, the vision occurs to him on his bed, or

¹ La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres. Paris, 1884. Pp. 36.

by the way, or in a lively dream. The angel is generally at his side with instructions. The prophetic call of Hermas is received through this angel; and as prophet he has authority in the community and with its leaders. The prophet seems, however, to have had no definite official position, at any rate in Rome. The Shepherd gives a thorough description of the true and the false prophet, especially in connection with the worship of the community (Mand. xi.). The false prophet appears sitting on a Cathedra, his hearers on a bench before him. Hermas here indicates no heretic, but a man who considers himself a member of the Catholic Church, and as Zahn has shown.1 It is no question of pagan oracles, nor of a clerus with hierarchic tendencies, but of a man who, with interested views, gives himself out as a prophet. His bearing is that of a heathen mantis, a sort of fortuneteller, who answers questions respecting the inquirer's destiny (xi. 2). In this capacity he is no organ of the Divine Spirit, but an earthly, idle, impotent spirit, which comes from the devil, impels him (xi. 6 and 3). It is noted of him that he only speaks when he is interrogated (i.e. about earthly things), that he flees the meeting of the community, or is silent there—in short, avoids submitting to the test of publicity. He will not exercise his prophetic call in the service and with the recognition of the Church; he is actuated by selfish earthly interests, and desires to make his authority prevail to have the "chief seat;" and therefore he flatters men's lusts.

The criterion of the prophet is moral (as in Matt. vii. 15 ff.); by his life he must be known. The reproach against the false prophet is covetousness; contrary to Matt. x. 8, he prophesies for reward. The true prophet, who has the Spirit (xi. 9), who is fitted by "the angel of the prophetic spirit" with the spirit of prophecy, is noted by the opposite qualities. He speaks not from his own impulse, but from inspiration. He is no mechanical organ of the Spirit. He knows nothing of speech in an ecstasy, which ignores the distinction of his proper personality from that of the Spirit speaking in him. But the revelation is no product of human thought; it is the work of the Spirit, as its import shows (xi. 20, 21). Especially in worship the prophet receives revelations, and becomes the declarer of the Divine will (xi. 9), and he is known to be a true prophet by selecting the meeting of the church to receive those impartations (xi. 8 f.).

From the first the proper sphere for the exercise of the prophetic gift was the assembled community (Mand. xi. 8, Vis. ii. 4); and this in conformity with 1 Cor. xiv. The task of the prophet was edifica-

¹ Der Hirt des Hermas, p. 102 ff., and Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theologie (1870), p. 204 ff.

tion; while the Church had the right of criticism and control over him. Opposition was offered to those who sought to withdraw themselves from this into private spheres of activity. Nor could the degradation of prophecy into mantic or soothsaying be tolerated. The moral character of the prophet was the great guarantee for the divinity of his message.

Bryennios has pointed out the affinity between the representation of the true and false prophet in the *Shepherd* and the *Didaché* respectively (pp. 84, 89 f.). Zahn has shown that they are independent of each other (*Forsch*. iii. 315); while they in common reflect the rich activity and the eminent position of the prophets in church life. Every church is supposed, as a rule, to have prophets (c. 10, p. 39). There may, however, be exceptions (c. 13).

They stand in close relation to the apostles: instruction is the duty of both. In c. 11 of the *Doctrina*, the covetous apostle is designated a false prophet (c. 11, p. 42). Both are to be treated according to the same rule, i.e. κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Matt. vii. 15, x. 12, 32). The apostles and prophets have the first place in the church. Their office is not limited to one community.

The distinction between the apostle and the prophet is that the former is an evangelist in the sense of Eph. iv. 11, and his sphere of activity is exclusively the heathen world. expressly forbidden to tarry more than one or two days in one place,—of course, as Zahn correctly observes (p. 299), a place where Christian communities already existed is meant. The prophet, on the other hand, exercises his vocation amidst communities already Christian. He, too, leads a wandering life, like the apostle; or, unlike him, may settle down in a community (c. 13). He is a prophet because he speaks έν πνεύματι (Doctr. 11). does this mean? A species of ecstasy, in which the prophet is but the unconscious organ of the Spirit. To determine this point, it should be noted that the prophet, like the apostle (c. 11, p. 40 f.), is denoted as διδάσκων, and the false apostle as pseudo-prophet; again, that prophets and teachers stand in close relation to each other (c. 13, 15), as in Acts xiii. 1 f.; lastly, that in c. 15 it is said of the bishops and deacons that they, too, discharged the duties of prophets and teachers. Hence it may be inferred that the inspiration of the prophet did not supersede the exercise of vovs, and that doctrine and moral instruction were his proper task.

In connection with this ministry of the Word, the *Doctrina*, in the liturgic directions for the Lord's Supper, ordains: "The prophets may give thanks as much as they will." Zahn (p. 305 f.) and Harnack

(on x. 7) think that the officers are here directed to hand over, exceptionally, the administration of the sacrament, which belongs to them, to the prophets. And the prophet is not to be bound by the preceding liturgic form. To Bonwetsch, on the contrary, it seems εὐχαριστεῖν, c. 10, p. 39, is not intended to replace the direction, p. 36, but to follow it as a free outburst of thanksgiving after the reception of the Supper.

It is a question how far the *Doctrina* assigns the prophets a share in the care of the poor. In c. 11, p. 43, the case is mentioned where a prophet demands the preparation of a meal which belonged to the poor, or was for their benefit in the first place; and p. 45, he has care for the poor in general. In cap. 13 the *Doctrina* determines, that where there is no prophet in a community, the gifts which would have been his should be given to the poor. May it be inferred that the gifts to be made to the prophets, who were not entitled to demand anything for themselves, were designed for distribution through him to the poor? Zahn (p. 301 f.) inclines to this view, which is favoured by the fact that copious contributions are demanded on behalf of the prophets.

They stand in the highest place among the rulers of the Church. In recommending the bishops and deacons, the *Doctrina* does so by pointing out that they, too, discharge the office of prophets and teachers (c. 15). The subordination of the bishops reminds of that censured by Jerome, ep. 41, among the Montanists.

The Doctrina protects the prophet against unjust criticism (c. 11, p. 43 f.). His judgment is with God, by whose commission he acts, if he is a true prophet. The allusion to his action in the above passage 1 is obscure. Bryennios and Zahn see an allusion to symbolic actions, which sometimes bear a questionable character. Hence the precedent of Isa. xx. is referred to. Harnack (p. 44 f.) explains of marriage, the mysterious earthly figure of the fellowship of Christ and the Church. Neither explanation seems satisfactory. How solemnly the authority of the prophets is upheld, may be seen from the fact that uncalled-for criticism is denounced as an unpardonable sin against the Spirit speaking in them.

1 sis mustheen nosminer lundissus.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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enclosed.

BIBLICAL TOPOGRAPHY.

No. I. - THE SITE OF PARADISE.

THE learned Dr. Kalisch, in his Commentary upon Genesis, when approaching this subject, remarks that "scarcely any part of the habitable globe has remained without the honour of being regarded as the happy abode of our first parents." 1 The statement is an exaggeration; but it has a basis of fact to rest upon; and, if we substitute for "any part of the habitable globe" the words "any portion of south-western Asia or north-eastern Africa." there will not be much reason to find The garden of Eden, or Paradise, wherein our fault with it. first parents dwelt, has been placed in Armenia by Reland. Brugsch, Keil, Kurtz, and Baron Bunsen; in the region immediately west of the Caspian Sea by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and Tuch; in Media Rhagiana by Von Bohlen; on the Pamir plateau by Lenormant; in Babylonia by Calvin, Pressel, Rask, Sir Henry Rawlinson, G. Smith, Professor Sayce, and Professor Delitzsch; near Damascus by Le Clerc; in Palestine by Heidegger and Lakemacher; in southern Arabia by Herbin, Hardouin, and Halevy; and on the upper Nile by Champol-Nor does the variety of geographical location at all fully represent the diversity of views which have been held upon the subject. The garden of Eden, according to some, is to be found only in Utopia, among the other pleasant fictions with which the prolific imagination of man beguiled and Such was the teaching of Philo; such, amused his childhood. we are told, was the teaching of Origen; such, so far as the Eden of Genesis is concerned, would seem to be the teaching

¹ Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 67, E. T.

of M. François Lenormant.¹ These writers relegate to mythology the problem which has so long puzzled geographers, and account for the diversity of geographical explanations on the ground that to attempt a geographical explanation is a mistake, and that no satisfactory one is possible.

To us it appears that a geographic character manifestly attaches to the entire description contained in the second chapter of Genesis, and that it would be contrary to all sound canons of historical or literary criticism to treat as mythic or allegorical a passage of a narrative, the general historical character of which is allowed, when there is nothing in the passage itself suggestive of either myth or allegory. Now the narrative is markedly matter of fact. It professes to describe the position of the original home of the human race; and it describes this position by a number of geographic names, most of which recur elsewhere in Biblical geography, by a reference to the points of the compass, and by an enumeration of the valuable commodities which one of the countries mentioned Dr. Kalisch says with reason: "Eden is geographically described in a manner which leaves no doubt that a distinct locality was before the mind of the author." 2 real point for consideration is, What was that locality? Theories of a Utopian or imaginary Eden, without earthly location, may be pronounced out of court.

In attempting to determine among the various geographic theories which is the more probable, we must be guided mainly, if not solely, by the words of the narrative. It is necessary therefore, in the first instance, to reproduce as nearly as possible the original words. They are as follows:—

"The Lord God (Jehovah Elohim) planted a garden east-ward in Eden, and there he placed the man whom he had formed. . . . And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted (or, it parted itself),

² Commentary, vol. i. p. 74.

¹ Origines de l'histoire d'apres la Bible, vol. ii. p. 142.

and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pishon; that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is bedolah, and the shoham stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon (Gikhon); that is it which compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; that is it which floweth before Assyria. And the fourth river, that is Pěrâth" (Euphrates, A.V.).

Now we have here, in the limited space of seven verses, eight geographic names. Four of them are names of rivers—Pishon, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Pěrâth; four of them, Eden, Havilah, Cush, and Assyria (Asshur), names of countries. Let us inquire how many of these can be certainly identified. And first, of the rivers.

It is almost universally allowed that the fourth river—the Pěrâth—is the Euphrates. The name of the Euphrates in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions is Purât or Purâta; in the Persian cuneiform it is Ufratush, whence the Greek Εὐφράτης; in the Arabic it is Furat or F'rât. The Hebrew Pĕrâth is closer to the original Assyrian than any of the other representatives. In the Old Testament it occurs nineteen times, and is uniformly translated Εὐφράτης by the Septuagint interpreters. The word means, in Assyrian, "the stream," or "the great stream" —and the Hebrew designation of it as "the river" (nahar, han-nahar), or "the great river" (han-nahar hag-gadol), is in close accordance with the etymology. (See Gen. xv. 8; Ex. xxiii. 31; Isa. vi. 20, viii. 7; Mic. vii. 12,)

The third river—the Hiddekel—is generally allowed to be the Tigris. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia the name given to the Tigris is either *Idiklat* or *Diklat*. This became in the Syriac *Deklat*, in the Hebrew of

^{&#}x27; See Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? (Appendix I. p. 169). Pur or pura, in Akkadian, means "the deep," "a river bed," "a river." Purat is nothing but this word with the ordinary Semitic feminine suffix attached to it.

the Targums and the Talmud Diglath, in Arabic Digla, in Pehlevi Digrath, in the Persian cuneiform Tigra, and in Greek and Latin Tigris. Of the classical writers Pliny alone has preserved a form nearer to the original and native appellation, viz. Diglito (Hist. Nat. vi. 27). The Hebrew "Hiddekel" is peculiarly close to the most ancient and fullest form of the word, which is I-dig-lat, or Idiklat. This is thought to mean, "the stream with high banks" 1—a very appropriate name for the Tigris, especially if it is compared with the Euphrates. " Hiddekel" occurs only twice in the Old Testament (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4). In neither place have the Septuagint interpreters ventured to translate it: but few commentators have been able to resist the evidence furnished by the name itself, backed up as it is by the connection with Assyria (Gen. ii. 14) and by Daniel's visiting it (Dan. l.c.); and the result has been that the third river is identified with nearly, though not quite, the same degree of certainty as the fourth.

Of the countries, one only is undoubted. As Asshur is the only name given to Assyria in the Old Testament, and as it occurs above a hundred times, and is almost uniformly rendered by the LXX. 'Assurble or of 'Assurble, no one has been as yet found hardy enough to question that Assyria is intended by "Asshur" in Gen. ii. 14.

To all the other geographic names under consideration more or less of doubt attaches; but the three identifications here laid down, which we negard as moral certainties, will enable us to dispose of a large number of the theories mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Eden cannot have been the region immediately to the west of the Caspian, or Media Rhagiana, or the Pamir plateau, or the tract about Damascus, or any part of Palestine, or a district of southern Arabia, or any portion of the Nile valley, since these are, all of them, regions remote from Assyria, and since no one of them borders either on the Tigris or on the Euphrates. The site of the

¹ See Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? (Appendix I. p. 171).

"garden" must be sought somewhere along the courses of the two great streams of Western Asia, so plainly mentioned in Gen. ii. 13, and should not be very far distant from that portion of the Tigris which "floweth before Assyria."

The theory that the garden of Eden was in the heart of Armenia, the high mountain ranges about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, has in its favour a large number of important names, but seems to us open to insuperable objec-The tract is in winter a bitterly cold region, and the winter lasts six months of the year; whereas the whole history of the paradisaical state seems to us to imply that the garden was situated in the warmer portion of the temperate zone, not far outside the tropic. The single stream branching into four heads is not to be found in Armenia, where the sources even of the Tigris and the Euphrates lie at a considerable distance the one from the other. No Armenian Pishon can be found, for the Phasis is not an Armenian river; and if the Araxes is pressed into service, to stand for the Gihon, since the Arabic geographers call it Gaihun er-Ras, it may be remarked that the sources of the Araxes are remote from those of both the Euphrates and the Tigris, and that with neither of these rivers has it any connection at all. Moreover, the other geographic names, Cush, Havilah, Eden, have no Armenian representatives, the resemblance of Havilah to Colchis, which some have urged, being at any rate not very apparent.

We must leave the mountains, and descend the courses of the streams to the great fertile plain which they water below the 34th parallel, before we come to a region at all suited for the habitation of primitive men—to a region which is naturally "a garden," and which in antiquity excited universal admiration. Here begins "the land of Shinar;" the region known to the Greeks and Romans as "Babylonia;" the region of which Herodotus says: "Of all the countries which we know there is none so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension

indeed of growing the fig, the olive, or the vine (?), or any other tree of the kind; but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundred-fold, and when the production is the greatest even three hundred-fold. The blade of the wheat plant and barley plant is often four fingers in breadth. for the millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my own knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia must seem incredible to those who have never visited the region. . . . Palm-trees grow in great numbers over the whole of the flat country" (Book i. Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, writes: ch. 195). "In .Babylonia, the wheat-fields are regularly mown twice, and then fed off with beasts, to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done, the return, in lands that are badly cultivated, is fiftyfold, while in those that are well-farmed, it is a hundred-fold" (Hist. Plant. viii. 7). The historians of Julian declare that in his time, a forest of verdure extended from the upper edge of the alluvium, which he crossed, to Mesene, and the shores of the Persian Gulf (Amm, Marc. xxiv, 3). Zosimus says, that not only were the palm groves continuous, but that the trees were everywhere encircled by vines, which hung about them in festoons, and sometimes climbed to their tops, and thence depended with rich clusters of grapes (Book iii, pp. 173-9). Even in modern times "a thick forest of luxuriant date-trees clothes the banks of the Euphrates from the vicinity of Mugheir to its embouchure at the head of the Persian Gulf." 1

Before proceeding further, let us inquire whether the other geographic names connected with the garden of Eden in Genesis harmonize or conflict with the theory that places it in Babylonia. These names are five—Eden, Havilah, Cush, Gihon, and Pison.

¹ Ancient Monarchies, vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

The name of Eden appears in Scripture under a slightly modified form in 2 Kings xix. 12, and in Amos i. 5-in the latter passage designating a place, in the former a people. The Beth-Eden of Amos is either a city or a district, and being mentioned in connection with Damascus, should not be far from that locality. The Beni-Eden of the Second Book of Kings are a nation subdued by Assyria, and have been probably identified with the people of a region conquered by Asshur-izir-pal, and called Bīt-Adini, which seems to have been on the Middle Euphrates, not far from Circesium. Neither of these notices, consequently, can be said to be in close harmony with the theory which places Paradise in Babylonia. It has been suggested, however, that the original geographic use of the terms Eden or Edin was a wide and vague one, that it signified "a plain," "a depression," and that hence it may have been applied to the Mesopotamian plain generally, within which the people of Beth-Adini seems to have dwelt. Again, it is thought that there may be a trace of the word Eden in an ancient name of Babylon, Kardunyas, kar being a dialectic form of gan, "garden," and dunyas a corruption of Eden.² Still, we must admit these speculations are uncertain, and that the name Eden does not greatly help the theory which places Paradise in Babylonia.

It is otherwise with the words Havilah and Cush. Havilah, which means "the sand region" (Dünenland), is connected by the genealogy of Cush, and again by that of Joktan (Gen. x. 7, 29), with Arabia, and may well have been a name applied generally to the sandy tract which stretches from the Lower Euphrates to the mountains of Edom (Gen. xxv. 18), between the 30th and the 34th parallels. Havilah, in this case, would have skirted Babylonia along the whole of its western border; and if any stream branched from the Euphrates on

² See the last cited work, p. 554.
³ Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? p. 12.

¹ Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? p. 80. The views expressed by this writer are criticised by M. Lenormant (Origines de l'Histoire, vol. ii. pp. 530, 531).

this side, it might well be said to have been "compassed" by it. The three products for which Havilah was remarkable were anciently to be found in this country. Ophir was the main gold region of the early times; and Ophir adjoined upon Havilah (Gen. x. 29). Bedölah is probably bdellium, as translated in the Authorized Version, and bdellium is "the gum of a tree growing in Arabia, India, and Babylon." The shoham, or onyx, is also an Arabian gem, and was probably obtained from Arabia when needed for the breastplate of the high priest (Ex. xxviii. 9, 20, xxxix. 6, 13).

Cush, which so many critics have connected with Ethiopia, and placed upon the Middle Nile, designates, probably, in Gen. ii. 13, the tract on the eastern side of the Lower Tigris. Cush is coupled with Elam by Isaiah (xi. 11), and with Persia by Ezekiel (xxxviii. 5). Herodotus calls the Elam of Scripture Kioola, and Diodorus Siculus places in this quarter the Cossæans (xix. 19); in which terms many of the best etymologists have recognised the Hebrew Kush and the Akkadian Kassi. Eastern as well as western, Asiatic as well as African, Ethiopians are recognised both by Homer (Od. i. 23, 24) and Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 70); and the land of Kush watered by the Pison is almost certainly the Eastern Cush, or the country still known as Khuzi-stan.

The names Pison and Gihon still remain to be considered. Neither of these two names occurs elsewhere in Scripture. Neither has any clear or manifest representative in later geography, Assyrian, classical, or Arabian. A single writer thinks that he has found a name resembling Gihon attached to one of the great canals, or branch streams, which were anciently derived from the Euphrates; but his reading is questioned by a critic of equal eminence, and the point must be regarded as one which still remains in dispute. The name Pison or Pishon has certainly not been found as that of any

³ Lenormant, Origines de l'Histoire, vol. ii. p. 536.

¹ Kalisch, Commentary on Genesis, p. 74.
² Delitzsch, p. 75.

stream or canal, either in Babylonia or elsewhere, and remains up to the present date an inscrutable puzzle.

Still, on the whole, it must be said that the geographic names connected with those of the Tigris and Euphrates in Gen. ii. 10-14, so far as they support any theory at all, tend to strengthen the view that the site of the garden was some portion of the alluvial plain through which the two great Mesopotamian rivers reach the sea.

Can we go further and say in what portion of the plain it was probably situated? Here two theories, and two theories only, meet us. One places the garden on the Shat-el-Arab, and finds the Pison and the Gihon in the Susianian rivers, which here mingle their waters with those of the two main streams. But it is conclusive against this view that the whole course of the Shat-el-Arab is of recent formation, the Persian Gulf having anciently reached 150 or 200 miles further inland than it does at present. And it is also conclusive against it that the Susianian streams are not branch streams from either the Euphrates or the Tigris, but simple tributaries of the latter, flowing into it from the Bakhtiyari mountains. In ancient times, moreover, it is most probable that they were not even connected with the Tigris, but reached the gulf by separate mouths.

The other theory, that of Calvin, Rask, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. George Smith, Professor Sayce, and Professor Delitzsch, assigns for the site of the garden the upper portion of the alluvium, or the rich and fertile tract extending along the courses of the two great rivers from about lat. 33° 30′ to lat. 31°. This is the region described in such glowing terms by Herodotus and Theophrastus, by Zosimus and Ammianus Marcellinus. It is a region where streams abound, where they divide and re-unite, where alone in the Mesopotamian tract can be found the phenomenon of a single river parting

¹ See Mr. C. H. H. Wright's article on "the Site of Paradise" in the Nineteenth Century for October 1882, p. 561.

itself into four arms, each of which is, or has been, a river of The Euphrates above Felujiyeh flows at a consequence. higher level than the Tigris, and about lat, 33° 23' throws off an arm which reaches the Tigris at Baghdad, and sometimes threatens that city with destruction. Lower down, it throws off a second arm to the west, which, passing by Kerbela and the Birs-i-Nimrud, flows into Bahr-i-Nedjif, and thence pursues a south-eastern course, skirting the Arabian desert by Tel-el-Lahm, Abu-Shahrein, and Zobair, to the Persian Gulf, which it enters in lat 30°. This branch was known to the Greeks as the Pallacopas, and, having been improved and straightened by human art, was reckoned as a canal. Biblical narrative it seems to be called "the Pison." Tigris, largely increased by the waters poured into it from the Euphrates,² divides at Kut-el-Amarah, and forms two streams of almost equal size, either of which may be regarded as the The author of Gen. ii. regarded the western arm (now the Shat-el-Hie) as the true "Hiddekel"—the continuation of the stream which had "flowed before Assyria," of which, in fact, it retains the direction. The other arm, which is now considered to be the true Tigris, and which skirted Susiania or "the land of Cush," he called "the Gihon," and viewed as corresponding, in a certain sense, with the Pison, being the extreme eastern river, as that was the extreme western. He commences his enumeration from the west with the stream that skirted Arabia (Havilah); he then passes, by the law of parallelism, to the most eastern stream, that which skirted Susiania (Cush, Kissia). Returning westward, he comes to the Tigris (Hiddekel), which he consequently makes the third river, and he concludes with the great river of all (han-nahar hag-gadol), the Euphrates, which is thus first (ver. 10) and last (ver. 14) in his narrative.

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¹ See Loftus, Chaldaa and Susiania, pp. 7, 8.

² It is this fact which enables the author of Gen. ii. to view the Lower Tigris as, in some sort, an arm of the Euphrates.

THE EPILOGUE TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

THE chapter with which the Fourth Gospel closes is one of great and varied interest. The concluding note of attestation has a value of its own in reference to the question of authorship. The incidents enshrined in the parrative meet us nowhere else, and are such as we should not willingly part They are reported with a delicacy of touch and a vivid directness of description which commend them to most minds as worthy of the pen to which we owe so many of the holiest and most memorable passages in the Gospel histories. Their intrinsic worth gives them a still stronger claim upon our attention. It is easy to see that they have an important bearing on the final preparation of the Apostles for their ministry, as well as upon the particular position and destiny of two leaders in the band. It is perhaps not so generally recognised that they occupy a no less important relation to the completed revelation of Christ Himself in His Risen Life, in the new order of fellowship into which He had now entered with His disciples, in the new conditions under which His work was to be continued in the world. And in this they seem to communicate something which we do not find elsewhere. It is but little at the best that is told us of what occurred between the Resurrection and the Ascension. get hints of appearances to Peter (Luke xxiv. 34) and James (1 Cor. xv. 7), which we long to see described at length. We come across notices of expositions which He gave of the witness borne to Himself by Moses and all the prophets (Luke xxiv. 27). We light upon allusions to things which He spake pertaining to the kingdom of God (Acts i. 3). These give us to understand that much that must have been of the utmost consequence to the Apostles, in fortifying their faith and enlightening their minds, did take place during that interval. But over most of this the New Testament declines to lift the veil, and little as we know, we should know much less had we not this postscript to the Fourth Gospel. Each of the few recorded manifestations of the Risen Christ, therefore, becomes of inestimable moment. Each has something of distinct and peculiar meaning to convey as to this mysterious period and the new modes of life and intercourse then revealed as possible to humanity by the Christ who was so changed and withal so unmistakeably the same. We cannot be too thankful for the wealth of detail with which these incidents are related. cannot study them too carefully. They have so much to show us of the way in which the disciples were led to accept the fact of the Resurrection, of the different circumstances under which it was borne in upon the convictions of one and then of another, of the accommodation of evidence to different orders They have so much to show us, too, of the manner in which, when the fact was once taken in, its consistency with all that Christ had revealed of Himself in His previous association with them was apprehended, and its meaning realized. They help us to understand how this fact became the inspiration of their preaching, and the power by which they founded the Church.

But while this is true of all the appearances of the Risen Redeemer which illumined the forty days, a distinct position in the series may be claimed for those which are recorded in the present chapter. They are made to men who have already grasped the fact of the Resurrection. In the case at once of the Master and of the disciples, they look to the future more than to the past. Canon Westcott takes the entire scope of the Revelation of the Risen Lord to be changed here with the change of scene from Judæa to Galilee. He regards the appearance to Thomas as forming the point of transition from the manifestations of Easter-day to those by the Sea of

Tiberias. He speaks of that appearance as resembling the former in so far as it called forth faith by sensible signs, and as resembling the latter in so far as it indicated that Christ is "most truly with His Church by an invisible spiritual presence, by an abiding spiritual power." We do not see, indeed, how this can be said to be, in any singular or exclusive sense, distinctive of the manifestation to Thomas. appeal to a "spiritual sense in man for the apprehension of the Lord's true nature." and the lesson that the spiritual presence of the Christ of heaven is a better and truer possession than the tangible presence of the Christ of Galilee and Judæa, are seen at least as clearly in the revelation to Mary. But it may be admitted that, so far as it speaks of a new beatitude, the beatitude of believing without seeing which belongs to the later generation, the revelation to Thomas does prepare the way for those reported in this appendix. And these latter seem meant for something more than merely to add so many of the same kind to those which preceded them. They are intended for the instruction of faith, not for its creation. They are links between what is and what shall be, rather than between what is and what once was. central thoughts," it is said, " are no more connected with the Passion and the Old Testament, but with the Return and the Progress of the Church." 1 They mark somehow a new train of revelations, charged with an object distinguishable from that of the earlier series, and it deserves to be considered what this object is.

Nor is this all. If the credibility of these narratives, by whomsoever written, is admitted, their apologetic value is by no means inconsiderable. They help us to a clearer and more consistent view of what happened between the Resurrection and the Ascension. They make a contribution of some worth to the removal of apparent discrepancies between the several accounts of the events falling within that interval, particularly

¹ Westcott's The Revelation of the Risen Lord, p. 112.

those supposed sharply to separate Matthew's record from They add to the body of facts, already the reverse of small, which show how far the bereft disciples were from having such expectations as might have led them to conjure up a Risen Christ for themselves, or to translate a mental impression into objective reality. They increase the difficulties which from various sources crowd in upon the theory that the leading New Testament books were writings composed with the design of balancing one Apostle against another, or of reducing the antagonism between two great parties in the primitive Church. As a whole, too, the appendix is a witness of some importance in the controversy about the claims of the Fourth Gospel. It is the judgment of Bleek, to name only one critic, but one of the most careful and impartial, that "the conclusion of the Gospel (ch. xxi.), in its relation to what precedes, presents a very strong argument for the genuineness of the work."

The historic value of these narratives, however, has not been left unassailed. Neither has there been much constancy in their interpretation. There are few more living or impressive scenes in the Gospel records than that which here exhibits the dispirited disciples looking out from the empty boat toward the Figure dimly visible in the grey light upon the solitary beach, the quick recognition by one of the number, the impetuous leap of another. There are few more touching passages than those which describe the interview between the Master lately denied and the Apostle now at last beaten out of self, the following of the disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast, the converse between Christ and Peter on the destiny of a brother beloved. But these sections of the Gospel story have been very variously understood. Most have taken them to be in some way both history and parable. But under this general agreement there have been the widest differences of opinion as to the extent of the parabolic element, and it is by no means so easy as at first sight it seems to determine the exact point and purpose of the incidents. Neither is it possible to ignore questions of another kind which are connected with these paragraphs. It is true, indeed, that as far back as documentary evidence carries us, the Fourth Gospel is found to have ended very much as it ends now. But this has not exempted its concluding chapter from the ordeal of criticism or the play of conjecture. Questions have been raised, and are still debated, which touch not only its design and construction, but also its authorship, its date, its trustworthiness. the most part these cannot be said to be questions either of such moment or of such difficulty as some others that have gathered round this Gospel. They have, nevertheless, their own importance. They include such points as these: Is the chapter of one piece with the body of the Gospel, or is it a separate composition? Is it by John's own hand, or does it come only from John's circle? If not by the Evangelist himself, can it be ascribed to some known disciple of his? With what purpose was it appended, and at what time? unity, or have we to recognise more than one pen in it?

These questions require some notice before we proceed with the exposition. We may look at the controversy about the authorship first. Is the chapter by the writer of the body of the Gospel, and, on the supposition that that writer is the Evangelist, by John? The credit of raising this to the rank of a scientific question seems to belong to the fertile Since his time it has continued to be mind of Grotius. more or less a subject of discussion. It has taken several forms, and has received more than one fresh stimulus during the last half-century. Grotius himself was content with supposing it to have originated within the Johannine circle. He took it to have been appended after John's death, and to have come probably from the head of the Ephesian Church or one of the elders. He offered the suggestion at the same time that John the Presbyter may have been the person who made the addition; and this suggestion has been thrown into ナイボ

the form of a definite theory by some considerable scholars, of whom Wieseler is the chief. Others have attached themselves more loosely to Grotius. Keim, for example, who holds the Gospel itself to belong to the time of the Emperor Trajan. somewhere about A.D. 110-115, and to be the production of the "now tangible John the Presbyter, himself also in some sense a disciple of the Lord," regards the closing chapter as a spurious appendix passing for the work of the Presbyter, and dating much later in the second century. Bäumlein believes the chapter to have proceeded from the circle of the Apostle's disciples at Ephesus, but before his death and with his Schleiermacher was unwilling to go beyond the general admission that its contents came from the writer of Ewald's opinions on such points were by no the Gospel. His decision, however, seems to have means constant. amounted to this, that the chapter was drawn up by some unknown friend of John, not with a view to publication but for his own use, although circumstances led to its circulation previous to John's death. A peculiar turn was naturally given to the debate by Baur and his immediate followers. who attempted to make it out that this section of the Fourth Gospel was composed by some later writer with the design of exalting John over Peter. Strauss pronounced it a fabrication constructed out of a couple of legends embodied elsewhere in the Gospels. The passages which were thus summarily declared to be legendary and then credited with having been seized upon and exaggerated for the purposes of this postscript, are the narrative of Jesus walking on the sea as given by Matthew (ch. xiv. 22-33), and that of the miraculous draught of fishes as given by Luke (ch. v. 1-11).

The Johannine authorship, therefore, is contested by two different classes—by those who deny the apostolic origin of the Gospel itself and the credibility of the incidents reported in this chapter, and by not a few who accept the chapter as a reliable record of facts. Of the former it is enough

to say that the criticism which has discredited the original positions of Strauss and Baur as a whole, and led to their abandonment or modification, applies in full force here. The Tübingen school is in serious division on the subject. Some of its members think this Epilogue was put in circulation with the view of re-asserting an authority for John which was threatened by the rising honour of Peter. Others discover in it the wish to elevate Peter's claims as against the Church of the East, Dr. Samuel Davidson, who clings to the Tübingen speculations with a fidelity which is almost pathetic, imagines it to have originated in the desire to correct a tendency to undervalue the Fourth Gospel, - a tendency which prevailed among Jewish Christians and was occasioned by the inferior position apparently held by Peter in its narrative. He is of opinion, therefore, that it is the work of some Jewish-Christian who lived before the close of the second century, and that it was added to the original Gospel with the twofold object of adjusting the relations between Peter and John, and attesting the Gospel by ascribing it to an Apostle. "Hence the author of the appendix," he says, "brings Peter into prominence, yet without serious disparagement to John." Hilgenfeld, on the other hand, although he denies the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, has made an attempt (which Dr. Samuel Davidson pronounces a failure) to prove this chapter the work of the writer of the body of the Gospel and an original part of his plan. These discrepant solutions of the problem on the part of men whose critical principles unite them in antagonism to the genuine historical character of the section in question, form a maze into which we need not penetrate. It surely betrays a very blunt perception to discover in the report of those heart-searching questions about Peter's love, leading though they do to his open restoration to office, anything calculated to help lordly claims, or in the touching notice of Peter's inquiry about John's fate, anything bearing in the direction of an exaltation of either Apostle over the

other. To the unsophisticated eye the entire representation which the Epilogue gives of Peter and John seems to be admirably in character, and in perfect keeping with the relations in which both Gospels and Acts uniformly show them to have stood to each other. And as to Strauss's notion that what we get in this chapter is a fanciful manipulation and expansion of other stories which were previously taken up into the Gospel record, it plainly overlooks several things. It forgets that what we have in John xxi, is an instance not of walking on the water but of swimming or wading in the water, and that thus, if we were to go back for its genesis to Matthew's narrative of the Storm on the Lake and Peter's crave to Jesus to bid him come to Him on the water, we should have the case of a legend diminishing instead of increasing in the marvellous as it moves along the stream of time. It ignores the patent differences, both in circumstance and in intention, which distinguish the incident reported in Luke v. 1-11 from that recorded in John xxi. 1-14, and which make it impossible to account for the latter as an adaptation of the former. It forgets, too. that there is no critical tradition against the chapter.

With the other and larger class of critics the case is very different, resolving itself into a question of mediate or immediate Johannine authorship. They admit for the most part that the narrative bears the Johannine cast. They find reason, however, for believing that this is due not to John's own hand, but to John's influence upon another hand or other hands. Bleek, for example, is of opinion that, whatever our view may be of the origin of the Gospel, we may be certain enough that this chapter was not written before the death of the beloved disciple, or by the hand that wrote the main narrative. "Supposing the whole Gospel spurious," he says, "we should still have to come to the same conclusion, because it would be very improbable that the skilful author, if he added this chapter himself, should not have known its contents

from the outset, and have incorporated them as part of his work. The closing verses of chapter xx. show that he could not thus have known them." He takes it, therefore, to be an addition which we owe to the "person or persons who first made the Gospel public, and who had received it from the Evangelist himself, whoever he may have been." In this form the question is one of subordinate, yet real, interest. The party adverse to the direct Johannine authorship numbers many good names, and has been reinforced of late by the adhesion of Bernhard Weiss. How does the case stand, then, as regards this issue? All that we need give at present is a brief statement of the outstanding data. Some of the arguments which have to be noticed apply at the same time to the assault of the most negative school upon the Johannine authorship in any form.

Not a little is made, then, of the general cast of the narrative, and that to two somewhat different effects. On the one hand it is urged that there is a lack of the usual Johannine directness and distinctness, a marked want of the steadiness of vision and of what has been termed the "demonstrativeness" of style associated with the writer of the Fourth To which it is enough to reply that no writer is equally lucid everywhere, that this is not the case with John in other parts of his Gospel, that this alleged deficiency is the creation of false interpretations rather than the characteristic of the record itself, and that in such paragraphs as xxi. 15-17 we surely have, if anywhere, the simplicity and certainty of the Johannine hand. On the other hand, it is said that there is a circumstantiality, a laboured detail which is equally alien This, however, is so much a matter of impression to John. that different minds may be variously affected by it. can only say that the scenes appear to us as natural and graphic as well can be, and exhibit a vivid, yet unstrained, colouring entirely worthy of the Evangelist. They are full of details, it is true, and of minor descriptive touches.

more so surely than many passages of the same Gospel, such as the narrative of the first call of the disciples in the opening chapter, or that of the woman of Samaria in the fourth. There are at the same time not a few things which betray the recollections of an eye-witness and an ear-witness, touches which have all the force of distinct, personal testimony. but the single case of the notice that Peter threw his "blouse" around him ere he stepped into the sea, of which Professor Sanday remarks that "no one but an eye-witness would have thought of the touch in verse 7, which exactly reverses the natural action of one about to swim, and yet is quite accounted for by the circumstances." There are, as we shall see, not a few turns of expression which are decidedly Johannine. And over all there is a tenderness, a reflectiveness, a depth of feeling chastened by recollection of the sacred intimacies of the past, such as we are led to connect with John's name above all others.

Something is made, too, of certain modes of conception which are held to be strange to John. Of these there is but one that seems of any importance. It is contended that Jesus is here represented as speaking of His Coming in a way inconsistent with what is found elsewhere in the Gospel. is true that in the Fourth Gospel the Parousia is described for the most part as a Coming in the Spirit. This is so much the case in chapters xiv.-xvi. that Keim asserts of this Gospel that it relegates the kingdom of Christ to heaven, and Scholten thinks that it has no other idea of a Coming of Christ than that of a purely spiritual Coming which means nothing more than the abiding of Christ's Spirit among men. But it does not follow that ch. xxi. 22 betrays a view of Christ's Return which is alien to John. The particular formula (ξως ξρχομαι) used here has no exact parallel, indeed, in John's writings. It has no such parallel elsewhere in the entire New Testament in this application to Christ, except in Luke xix. 13; and it occurs only once again, and then in a totally different reference.

namely in 1 Tim. iv. 13. The phrases used for expressing this Coming seem to have several distinct senses, denoting sometimes an Advent in the Spirit, again a Coming in the article of death, again a judicial Return in the form of the judgment of Jerusalem or a triumphal Return in the victory of His cause and the establishment of His kingdom among the Gentiles, and once more a visible Advent at the close of the present economy. It is often difficult enough to determine which of these possible views rules in a particular passage, or whether two of them do not meet in the same The meaning of the particular formula in question, therefore, is, as might be expected, a matter of debate. But even if it is granted that it refers to Christ's visible Advent at the end of the world (which undoubtedly is the most natural sense), it is not without parallels even in the writings usually connected with John's name. It is admitted by Meyer that in the πάλιν ἔρχομαι of John xiv. 3, Jesus speaks distinctly of His Parousia properly so called, and not of any purely spiritual Coming different from that. his First Epistle, too, the same idea appears plainly enough (ch. ii. 28, iii. 2), and in more definite phraseology. Neither in this nor in anything else can any appreciable doctrinal difference be made out between the Epilogue and the body of the Gospel.

Advantage is taken, again, of peculiar forms of statement which occur in one or two verses. What is said in verse 23 about the possibility of its being Christ's will that Peter's comrade should tarry till He came, is held by some to imply that John was dead by the time this record was written, and it is asserted that except on this supposition the report would be little in point. It must be admitted to be natural enough to take this statement to have been inserted with the view of showing that Christ's words had not been falsified by the event of John's decease, but had simply been misunderstood. On the other hand, as it has been

sufficiently explained by Huther and others in opposition to the strong averments of Weizsäcker and Keim, the statement will not lose its pertinency if it is taken to look merely to the contingency of John's death, and be meant to correct a misapprehension of the Lord's words which had become current while the Apostle was yet alive. It is urged, too, that the personal designation in verse 20 becomes inappropriate, if John is understood to be the writer. But the reverse will rather appear to be the case. The designation loses most of its meaning, if it is not the writer's description of himself. It carries us back to ch. xiii. 23, 25, where we have first the phrase "there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved," and then the notice of the fact that when he put to Jesus the question, "Lord, who is it?" he was "lying on Jesus' breast," or, as it should be rendered, he "leant back on to Jesus' breast." is a literal reproduction of what Bishop Lightfoot has termed "one of the most striking of those most descriptive traits which distinguish the narrative of the Fourth Gospel generally, and which are especially remarkable in these last scenes of Jesus' life, where the beloved disciple was himself an eyewitness and an actor" (On Revision, p. 73). To whose pen would these words, "the disciple whom Jesus loved," "which also leaned back on to Jesus' breast" (as here, too, we should translate), so naturally come as to that of the man who had had such a place in such a scene, and whose mind was aglow with the solemn memories of that night? Might not John, too, have a special reason for choosing this memorable designation of himself when, as his wont was, he would not give his It is John and Peter that here again are in name? intimate relation, only that the latter is the questioner now where formerly he had but prompted John to act that part. And Godet is probably right in suggesting that the reason why "that mark of supreme confidence which he had enjoyed at the last feast is here referred to," is that John in this way expressed his certainty that "nothing could pass between Jesus and Peter which should be kept a secret from him." somewhat similar objection has been taken to the phrase, "the sons of Zebedee." which occurs in verse 2. This title is found nowhere else in the Fourth Gospel, and is supposed, therefore, to belong to another hand than John's. true that the writer of this Gospel nowhere else uses this patronymic, as it is also true that he nowhere calls John a son of Zebedee, and nowhere names his brother James. But there are reasons for the adoption of such a title here, which not only remove the difficulty but make the peculiar designation tell in favour of the Johannine authorship. It has been very well shown that this is the only occasion in the whole course of the Gospel which could be said to suggest or necessitate the use of such a title. It is the only occasion which John has for mentioning his brother and himself in a list And the position given to the designation in that list of names is a witness to the writer's own hand. the lists of the Apostles, both in the Synoptists and in Acts, John is separated from Peter only by Andrew and James or by James alone. But there is a change in the order and connection here. And what simpler or more reasonable explanation of this change can there be than that the person who pens the words is John himself, who here, as elsewhere, prefers to remain unnamed, avoids a prominent place, and naturally couples his brother with himself in the indefinite designation and the modest position? Canon Westcott puts it strongly, but perhaps not too strongly, when he affirms that "under any circumstances the position of the sons of Zebedee in the enumeration is not that which any other writer than St. John would have given them."

S. D. F. SALMOND.

THE EARLY SYRIAC VERSIONS.

CHRISTIANITY must have, at a very early period, penetrated into the countries bordering on Palestine inhabited by those who used the Syriac language, even although no credence is given to the account of the preaching of the gospel in Edessa by the Apostle Thaddeus. Antioch, the capital of Syria, was one of the first Gentile cities where the gospel was preached, and occupies a prominent place in the history of the Apostles. Here the disciples first received the name of Christians, and from it, as from a centre. Paul set out on his missionary journeys. And although Antioch itself was a Greek city, Syriac was the language, if not of the proximate neighbourhood, yet of the adjoining countries. We are accordingly led to believe that at an early period a Syriac version of the canonical Scriptures was made to supply the wants of the Syriac Christians, even as a Latin version was early made to supply the wants of the Latin Christians. Although the date assigned by Michaelis, toward the close of the first century, is too early, yet there are reasons, which will appear in the course of this article, for fixing the Syriac version as early as the middle of the second century. From a passage in Eusebius, it would appear that Hegesippus (A.D. 170) made use of a Syriac version of the Gospels. "He," we are informed, "states some particulars from the Gospel of the Hebrews and from the Syriac" (Eus. Hist. Eccl. iv. 22). The language is not very definite, but the natural meaning appears to be that Hegesippus quoted from a Syriac Gospel as well as from the Gospel of the Hebrews. Ephraem, the Syrian (A.D. 170), it is true, is the first who expressly mentions the Syriac version, but he does so in such a manner as to indicate its antiquity. He calls it our version, implying that it had already received the

sanction of the Syrian churches; and he explains several words and phrases which from lapse of time had become obsolete or obscure. But the important discoveries which have in our days been made in manuscripts connected with the Syrian churches, place the early age of the Syriac version beyond dispute.

Until recently the Peshito was regarded as the oldest extant Syriac version. Recent discoveries have, however, induced many of our most learned critics to modify, if not to alter, this view. Accordingly the object of this paper is to inquire into these two points: whether the Peshito is not a revised edition of a more ancient version; and whether, admitting this to be the case, the original version did not contain those books of the New Testament which are omitted in the Peshito as it has come down to us.

I. In 1842, a Syriac manuscript containing fragments of the Gospels was brought by Archdeacon Tattam from the Syrian monastery dedicated to St. Mary Deipara, or the mother of God, in the valley of the Natron lakes, and was deposited in the British Museum. This manuscript was examined by the late Dr. Cureton, the most distinguished Syriac scholar then in England. He found to his surprise that it contained a different version from either the Peshito or the Philoxenian, and that it exhibited marks of great antiquity. In 1848, he printed the manuscript in Syriac; and in 1858 he published, along with the Syriac, an English translation, with various important notes, and an introduction containing an account of the manuscript, the probable age of the version, and its relation to the Peshito. The work is entitled, "Remains of a very ancient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe." Dr. Cureton considered the age of the manuscript to be about the middle of the fifth century, an opinion which has been generally acquiesced in; and affirmed that it contained readings of high antiquity, and was one of the earliest testimonies extant. It contained only fragments

of the Gospels in loose leaves or pages. The Gospels were arranged in the following order: Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke. Of Matthew there remained i.-viii. 22, x, 32-xxiii, 25; of Mark only four verses at the close, xvi. 17-20; of John, i. 1-42, iii. 6-vii. 37, xiv. 10-12, 16-18, 19-23, 26-29; and of Luke, ii. 48-iii. 16, vii. 33-xv. 21, xvii. 24-xxiv. 44. This manuscript has received the name of the Curetonian Syriac to distinguish it from the Peshito and the other Syriac It is exceedingly important for critical purposes; it casts light upon many disputed readings in the Gospels, as for example the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer and the last verses of Mark's Gospel; but especially it has modified our views of the Peshito by proving, or at least rendering it highly probable, that this venerable and justly-prized version is a revised edition of a much older Syriac version. Dean Alford hardly exaggerates, when he says of the Curetonian Syriac: "Perhaps the earliest and most important of all the versions."

Dr. Cureton asserts that this manuscript of the Gospels, or rather fragments of the Gospels, bears internal marks of great antiquity, and claims for it a priority to the Peshito. facts," he observes, "which the comparison of the text of these Syriac remains of Gospels with that of the Greek has established, all tend to show that these fragments belong to an edition or recension of the Gospels which must be assigned to those very early times of the Christian religion, when the spirit was felt to be of far greater importance than the letter, and when the substance of what the Evangelists had written was more heeded than the very words themselves in which it was expressed. At a period so near to the days when the wonders recorded in the Gospels were performed, and the lessons and doctrines which they contained were preached-while the immediate successors of those to whom Christ Himself, or His apostles, had given commission to teach and to baptize were personally engaged in spreading the glad tidings of salvationthe necessity for verbal critical accuracy was not so keenly

felt, nor its importance held to be so great as it afterwards became in times more remote, when those who had drawn the waters of life near to their source were passed away, and their personal authority and oral instruction could no longer be referred to." The version is uncritical; passages from the different Gospels are mixed up together; and this, Dr. Cureton asserts, is a mark of its antiquity, showing that it was made at a time when, by reason of nearness to the source of the events narrated, criticism was not attended to or valued. Dr. Scrivener takes an opposite view: he supposes that the Curetonian manuscript is a careless transcript of the Peshito. "As the matter stands," he observes, "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the careless transcriber of the Curetonian mistook or corrupted the Peshito, rather than that the Peshito amended the defects, real or supposed, of the other." No one who has carefully examined the manuscript will arrive at this opinion; there could be no possible reason for the corruption of the Peshito, and in the text the Gospels are so mixed that it cannot be accounted for on the ground of mistaken transcription. Accordingly, all our learned critics, with hardly an exception, have agreed in assigning the priority of age to the Curetonian; and this opinion has been almost converted into a certainty by a fresh discovery made among the manuscripts of the East.

In the year 1836, a manuscript written in the Armenian language was printed at Venice, with a Latin translation purporting to be an exposition of Ephraem the Syrian on the four Gospels. For a long time, probably owing to ignorance of the Armenian language, no notice was taken of this work, until 1876, when it was examined by Dr. Moesinger, a distinguished German scholar, and published with a Latin translation. It was found to be an Armenian translation of Ephraem's commentary on the Diatesseron of Tatian. It was well known that Ephraem wrote such a commentary: reference is made to it in Lardner's works. Dionysius Bar Salibi

(1207) had observed: "Tatian, the disciple of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, selected and patched together from the four Gospels, and constructed a Gospel which he called Diatesseron, that is, the Miscellanies. On this work Ephraem wrote an exposition; and its commencement was, In the beginning was the Word." In this commentary of Ephraem, much of the text of Tatian has been preserved. In 1881, an elaborate investigation of this work was made by Professor Zahn of Erlangen, and most valuable results were derived To this investigation and these results Dr. Wace has directed the attention of English scholars in two important articles in the Expositor for 1882. Professor Zahn has come to the two following conclusions which may be considered as proved: first, that Tatian was a Syrian Christian and wrote his Diatesseron in Syriac; and secondly, that his quotations from the Gospels agree not with the Peshito, but with the Curetonian Syriac. Tatian, however, was well acquainted with Greek, and in several places he corrected the mistakes occurring in the Curetonian. "He employed," observes Dr. Wace, stating the conclusions at which Professor Zahn had arrived, "as the basis of his work, the existing Syriac version of the Gospels, namely the Curetonian, but compared that version throughout with a copy of the Greek Gospels, the text of which in cases of divergency he preferred, and from which he translated directly." Now this proves two things, the priority of the Curetonian to the Peshito, and the antiquity of the Syrian version. Tatian was the disciple of Justin Martyr, and therefore must have flourished about A.D. 160; and consequently we cannot assign a later date to the earliest Syriac version than the middle of the second century.

But there is still another important fact deduced from the examination of the Curetonian manuscript. Not only is it proved that the Curetonian Syriac is prior to the Peshito, but that the Peshito and the Curetonian are not independent versions; in short, that the Curetonian is just the Peshito in

its original form. Dr. Cureton has shown that "although there is a marked difference in some places between the text of the Peshito and that of these Syriac fragments, the general similarity and agreement between the two is so great as to preclude the possibility of their having been two altogether distinct and independent versions." Many passages are word for word the same in the two versions, and that in those passages where they differ from the Greek text. This fact is not only admitted, but asserted by Dr. Scrivener, though, of course, he considers the Curetonian to be derived from the Peshito. "Any one," he observes, "who shall compare the verses we have cited from them in parallel columns, will readily admit that the two translations have a common origin, whatever that may be; many other passages, though not perhaps of equal length, might be named where the resemblance is closer still; where for twenty words together the Peshito and the Curetonian shall be positively identical, although the Syriac idiom would admit other words and another order just as naturally as that actually employed."

Now, admitting what we consider as proved, that the Curetonian Syriac is prior to the Peshito, and admitting also what is generally allowed, that these are not independent versions, but the same version, the one in its original and the other in its amended form, it follows that the Peshito is a revised edition of a more ancient Syriac version. Of course we have only some fragments of the Gospels remaining, but it cannot be doubted that the New Testament was at the same time translated into Syriac. The Curetonian is an uncritical version, whereas the Peshito is critical in a high degree; it bears internal marks of being a revision; it is a version of peculiar excellence and authority. The mistakes in the Curetonian are corrected, and the mixing of the different Gospels is avoided. The Greek text is everywhere consulted, and the version brought into correspondence with Before the discovery of the Curetonian fragments, it was it

suspected by Griesbach that the Peshito was a revision; and now that this discovery has been made, this suspicion has been confirmed. In short, the Peshito bears the same relation to the ancient Syriac that the Vulgate does to the old Latin. This revision, it is probable, was made by Syrian scholars either of Antioch or of Edessa or of Nisibis, in the fourth century, when the Church became settled, and when critical studies were carried on. The superior excellence of the Peshito would soon cast the early Syriac version into the shade: that version would cease to be used in the Syrian churches, and would gradually be forgotten; so that it is not a matter of surprise that only fragments of it have recently been obtained. In the same manner, the Vulgate superseded the old Latin, so that only a few manuscripts of the old Latin remain. Besides, it is to be observed, that very few works of the old Syrian Fathers have come down to us; so that we cannot refer to their quotations from the old Syriac version, as we can refer to quotations of the Latin Fathers from the old Latin version. Ephraem (A.D. 370) is almost the oldest Syrian Father; and before his time it is probable that the revised edition of the Peshito was made.

II. But a more important question remains to be discussed: Granting that there was a revision of the Syriac text, when the Peshito was made, was there also at the same time a revision of the Syriac canon? In other words, Were the books which are omitted in the Peshito, as it has been transmitted to us, also omitted in the early Syriac version? The subject is of great importance as bearing upon the external evidences of the genuineness of these books; for, if it can be proved or rendered highly probable that these books were contained in an older Syriac version, the objection drawn from their absence in the Peshito is of no great weight.

The Syrian canon of the New Testament, as used in the present day among the Syrian churches, differs from the Greek canon and from the canon of all other Christian churches, in the omission of the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. This fact was adverted to by various writers in the Thus Chrysostom states that the Syrian early Church. church accepted only three Catholic Epistles; and the same statement is made by Ebenjesu, bishop of Nisibis, and other Christian writers. It was not until the revival of letters that the Peshito became known to the theologians of Europe. Manuscripts were brought from the East, and from them Syriac editions of the Scriptures were printed: the first edition being published by Widmandstadt, at Vienna, in 1555. These manuscripts confirmed the statement made by Chrysostom regarding the omission of the above scriptural books. So also all the manuscripts of the Peshito, which have been brought to Europe, are found to want these books, except one contained in the Bodleian Library, which has a translation of the four omitted Catholic Epistles. This translation has, however, been proved to be more recent than the Peshito, and is supposed to be the unrevised Philoxenian version. That version was completed in the year 508, at the instance of Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, and was revised in the year 616 by Thomas of Harkel. It is a literal and slavish translation from the Greek, and contains all the books of the New Testament. It cannot, however, owing to its late origin, afford any proof that the omitted books were at an earlier period received by the Syrian church.

It is then admitted on all hands that, in the Syrian canon of the fourth century, certain books of the New Testament were awanting; but the question arises, Did the original Syriac, of which the Peshito is a revised edition, contain these books? Of course, the recent discoveries which have been made in the Syriac manuscripts can throw no light on this question, and cannot be used as an argument on the one side or on the other. The Curetonian Syriac contains only fragments of the Gospels, and the Diatesseron of Tatian is a

harmony of the Gospels: we have no information as to the other writings of the New Testament in this Syriac version. This question, however, of their previous admission, first affirmed by Hug, has of late been maintained, and its importance demands a careful consideration. Hug supposed that the Peshito formerly contained the omitted books, and that these books gradually fell away before the sixth century. supposes that there was an ancient Syriac version of the Apocalypse, and the four omitted Catholic Epistles. same supposition has been made by Hilgenfeld in his introduction to the New Testament. "The old Syriac version," he observes, "as it has come down to us, or the Peshito, recognises only three of the Catholic Epistles, and omits the Apocalypse of John; but Ephraem certainly made use of these writings in the older Syriac translation." "Ephraem, the oldest witness of this version (the Peshito), has read these (omitted) writings in Syriac; and their exclusion is conceivable as an act of Antiochene theology." And recently this view of the matter has obtained a powerful advocate in Professor Warfield of Alleghany, one of the most promising of our young theologians, in an article on the canonicity of Second Peter, remarkable for its learning and ability, in the Southern Presbyterian Review of America, in 1882. "Chrysostom," he observes, "is the earliest witness to the shorter form of the Syriac canon; while earlier than his time that canon seems to have included all of our New Testament books. Thus, Ephraem Syrus of the preceding generation, confessedly possessed all the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation in an older Syriac translation of ecclesiastical authority. original Peshito is admitted by such critics as Thiersch, Lücke, and even Hilgenfeld, to have doubtless contained the omitted books, while the form in which it was possessed by Chrysostom represents the result of a critical Antiochene revision of the fourth century."

The chief argument, in proof of this assertion, is the fact

that Ephraem the Syrian quotes from these omitted books; and as Ephraem wrote in Syriac, it is supposed that in doing so he used a Syriac version. There are in Ephraem's writings quotations from Second Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. The works of Ephraem have been published in Rome in six folio volumes, three of which are Syriac and the other three are Greek. Now, with the exception of 2 Pet, iii, 10, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night," and which may as well be considered as a quotation from 1 Thess. v. 2, and a doubtful reference to 2 Pet. iii. 7, all the quotations of Ephraem from the omitted Catholic Epistles (it is otherwise with the Apocalypse) are to to be found, not in the original Syriac, but in the Greek translation of his works, and are on this account somewhat doubtful. "How far," observes Lardner, "they are to be relied upon as genuine and uncorrupted may be hard to say. I rather think it cannot be depended upon that Ephraem is here truly represented. For my part, I must own that I prefer the Syriac works much before the Greek, which at best are translations only, in which too the translator may have inserted some of his own sentiments." This statement, however, may perhaps be regarded as too sceptical. Let it then be admitted that Ephraem quoted from these omitted books; how can it be proved that he quoted from an older Syriac version, and did not rather translate from the Greek? Ephraem, as Westcott remarks, may in this have represented the Greek rather than the Syrian Church. The Greek manuscripts would certainly be found in Edessa where Ephraem resided, and there was nothing to hinder his employment of them.

It has however been attempted to prove that Ephraem could not translate or quote from the Greek, because he was ignorant of that language. Hug produces the testimonies of Sozomon and Theodoret to this effect. The latter expresses his surprise that without a knowledge of Greek, Ephraem

should have been able so successfully to have controverted the Greek heretics. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of Ephraem, informs us that when Ephraem paid a visit to Basil, the celebrated bishop of Cæsarea, he conversed with him by means of an interpreter. But, although Ephraem could not converse in Greek, it by no means follows that he could not read the Scriptures in Greek, and could not employ that language for critical purposes. One may be able easily to read a language without being able to carry on a conversation in it. well-known fact that many of the most distinguished German theologians, who can read with a clear apprehension English works in theology, cannot speak that language; and so it is doubtless the case with many of our theologians with reference to German. And it cannot be supposed that Ephraem, so long resident in the learned city of Edessa, and exercising such a powerful influence on the Syrian churches, was wholly ignorant of Greek. His attention must have been directed to the acquirement of that language in which the New Testament was originally written. "Ephraem," observes Dean Smith, "residing in Edessa, a place crowded with schools and educated people, was himself a teacher, and not a man to cast such opportunities away. He exhorts his hearers to read Greek writers, especially Porphyry, Plato, Aristotle, and authors acquainted with physics, like Galen and Hippocrates. He manifests, without parading it, a sufficient mastery of Greek philosophy to be able by its help to refute the Gnostic errors so prevalent in the East."

Professor Warfield adduces as a further argument that "the earlier Syrian writers certainly possessed and esteemed the rejected books. Thus Theophilus of Antioch (168–180) had Second Peter and Revelation, Malchion had Jude, and Pamphilus had Revelation and seemingly also the whole Catholic Epistles." That these fathers can be regarded as Syrian writers is very doubtful: Antioch, where Theophilus and Malchion resided, was a Greek city; and Cæsarea, the abode

of Pamphilus, was the Roman capital of Judea, and also Greek. Unless it can be proved that these fathers wrote in Syriac—whereas it is almost certain that they wrote and spoke in Greek—no argument can be derived from their writings as to the state of the Syriac version in their day.

The testimony of Ephraem the Syrian, therefore,—and this is the only plausible testimony that can be assigned—is not sufficient to prove that the original Syriac version, or the ancient Peshito, contained those books which are now omitted. Ephraem could easily have quoted from these books by using Besides, if these books were formerly in the Syrian canon, it is highly improbable that they should be omitted in any subsequent critical revision; at least, so far as I am aware, no instance of such an omission of canonical books has been made in the critical revision of any version. The canon has been allowed to remain uncurtailed. Luther translated the New Testament, although he was doubtful of the genuineness of some books or rejected them, yet he did not omit them in his version, but translated and marked them with a note. The Syriac version, as we have seen, was made at a very early period; and the supposition, advanced by Bleek to account for the omission of certain books, is, after all, perhaps correct, that the version was made before the "This leads us to the canon was fixed and completed. probable supposition," he observes, "that the Peshito had already been made, and ecclesiastically recognised, at a time when the five books omitted were not yet generally acknowledged as constituent parts of the New Testament canon, and that the other books were translated simultaneously, not as a merely private undertaking, but at the suggestion of the Syrian churches or their rulers." We are then constrained to acknowledge that there is not sufficient proof for the assertion, first made by Hug and now again advanced, that the original Peshito, or old Syriac version, contained the omitted books. P. J. GLOAG.

THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES.

I .- THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

THE problem of the universe has always exercised a powerful fascination over the higher intellects of the race. age it has attracted towards itself the eager and absorbed contemplation of the world's thinkers and sages, as well as given rise to the sublimest, if also at times the most grotesque. The mystery which, apart from Revelation, speculations. surrounds man's position on the earth, itself a tiny globe in the midst of unnumbered spheres, impels the thoughtful and reflecting spirit to at least make the attempt to penetrate the veil and, if possible, discover the secret of existence. Whence has the immense fabric of the universe, this seemingly firmset earth with the constantly-moving stellar firmament overhead, proceeded? or, has it maintained its position in the all-surrounding ocean of space from eternity? Is it a self-existent entity? or, is it dependent on the will of a Supreme Intelligence? If the latter, when was it summoned into being? Does its birth date from a remote past, extending to perhaps millions of years? or, is it of comparatively recent origin, say not older than a few decades of centuries? By what agencies and through what processes, in what stages, and after what methods has it been brought to its present order and beauty, finished to such a degree of excellence, adorned with such manifest as well as manifold perfection? For what purpose has it been created? and to what goal is it steadily progressing? Questions like these, which in the judgment of many were deemed to have long since received their answers and been satisfactorily disposed of, have in these times again been raised into importance, in point of fact once

more called up for consideration and adjudication. Not only is the light available for their examination greater to-day than at any former epoch in the world's history, in consequence of the gigantic strides that have been made during the past quarter of a century in all departments of knowledge, but more especially in the fields of chemical and geological science, of natural history and biology, of ethnology and archæology; but the tendency of not a little of that literature, in which the results of these investigations are reported and speculated upon, is to challenge time-honoured conclusions which have, sometimes without sufficient reason, been deemed Hence the time cannot be fairly held as either premature or inopportune for endeavours to furnish to the above series of interrogations such replies as the present state of our knowledge on this momentous theme will warrant.

A convenient guide for this inquiry may be found in the sublime cosmogony which stands as a preface to the Book of Genesis in the Hebrew Scriptures. Without laying down any presuppositions as to its inspiration, it may be claimed for that venerable document that it is the most ancient writing extant which professes to deal with this exalted subject. The theory of the late composition of the Pentateuch, which in recent years has been reviving its pretensions, notwithstanding the great names by which it has been supported,1 and the eloquent language in which it has been expounded, must be held in the meantime as having failed to commend itself to general acceptance. The preponderance of argument, so far as the present writer has been able to form an opinion on the question in debate,2 lies with those who contend for its Mosaic authorship. If therefore the opening chapter of the Book of Genesis emanated from the pen of the great Hebrew Lawgiver, and if, as is probable, it was simply the reproduction of

¹ Kuenen, Wellhausen, Colenso, R. W. Smith.

² See Pulpit Commentary on Genesis, Introduction—"The Authorship of the Pentateuch."

a document which had been handed down in Israel from a remote antiquity,1 it is certain that its only rivals in respect of age can be those deeply interesting papyruses and tablets that have recently been recovered from the tombs of Egypt and the ruins of Assyria; that none of these can compete with it in either sublimity of thought or majesty of diction requires only a cursory inspection to perceive. Perhaps the oldest extant MS. in the world is the Prisse Papyrus which a French archæologist of that name acquired in Thebes; 2 and yet it is not too much to say that, placed alongside of the lofty composition forming the introduction to the Old Testament Scriptures, this Egyptian roll is at once seen to be little more than "a string of platitudes" and dreary commonplaces. On account therefore of incomparable superiority over every other ancient writing of a similar description, it seems reasonable to concede to the Mosaic hymn of creation the honour of directing our investigations.

1. The origin of the universe is in the Biblical cosmogony ascribed to the Will of a Supreme, Self-Existent Personal Intelligence, who "spake and it was done," who "commanded and it stood fast." "The heavens and the earth," the usual Hebrew designation of the universe, "were created," or summoned into being, by "Elohim," the God in whom resides the fulness of Power. The solution thus given of the problem of the universe is neither atheistic, assigning to matter eternal duration as well as "the potency of life" and intelligence in order to be able to dispense with a Personal Deity; nor pantheistic, affirming that the All is God and God is the All, and so commingling and confounding the Creator with His works; neither polytheistic, crowding the vast temple of immensity with a host of self-existing but mutually-balancing and sometimes fiercely-opposing divinities; nor dualistic,

¹ Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, Art. "Schöpfung."

Egyptian Life and History, by M. E. Harkness, p. 18.
 Geikie's Hours with the Bible, vol. i. p. 2.
 Gen. i. 1.

setting over against the absolute and underived Artificer of all things, as equally with Him possessed of unbeginning being, the matter out of which the system of the universe is formed; but, radically different from, and indeed diametrically opposed to, every one of these, theistic and monotheistic, declaring all things to be the handiwork of One Supreme Personal God. In this respect it accords with the general tenor of Scripture teaching in both Old and New Testaments.¹ It harmonizes also with the primitive beliefs of mankind as these have been expressed in those ancient religions with which Biblical archæology has made recent times acquainted. The Litany of Ra deciphered from the walls of royal sepulchres at Thebes, and the Hymn to Osiris, appearing frequently in cemeteries on monumental tablets, distinctly enough proclaim that the Egyptians from the dawn of history accepted the doctrine of a First Cause, whom they worshipped as the "Supreme Power, the urn of the creatures," "who makes the spheres and creates bodies." "the Eternal Essence who penetrates the empyrean," 2 as the "Lord of length of times, King of the gods, of many names, of holy transformations," "the paut-ti of the world," the word paut-ti being connected with the idea of creation, though it is doubtful whether the Egyptians did not rather think of an emanation from, than of a production by, the Supreme. Then the Chaldean and Babylonian legends of creation may be cited as indications that the early settlers in the Tigris and Euphrates valley were familiar with the thought of one who existed while "none of the gods had yet been born," 4 who "constructed dwellings for the great gods," 5 who "created mankind." and produced "the host of heaven and earth."

¹ Job xxxviii. 4; Ps. xxiv. 1, 2, xxxiii. 6, 9; Isa. xlii. 5; Acts xiv. 15; Eph. iii. 9; Heb. iii. 4; Rev. iv. 11.

² The Litany of Ra: see Records of the Past, vol. viii. p. 105.

³ Hymn to Osiris: see Records of the Past, vol. iv. p. 99. ⁴ Records of the Past, vol. ix. 117.

⁶ Records of the Past, vol. vii. p. 127.

⁷ Fresh Light from the Assyrian Monuments, p. 27,

Certainly no one can peruse these old Accadian myths without becoming painfully conscious of the wide gulf which separates them from the Scriptural account of the origin of things; yet they have their value in attesting the acquaintance of the human mind in those dim primeval epochs, with the ideas of a cosmical beginning and a creative beginner. And these ideas the best philosophy to which the intellect of man has been able after long and profound meditation to attain, 1 has declared to be in absolute accordance with the laws of reason. . Nor can it be seriously maintained that modern science has conclusively established that these, the highest utterances of the philosophic and the religious consciousness, are incorrect, that the universe never had either a beginning or a beginner, but that the present cosmos of symmetry and beauty, of life and intelligence, has, through self-developing processes requiring myriads of ages, been evolved from eternallyexisting matter. It is sometimes tacitly assumed that such has been the case, but so far from modern science having established the eternity of matter, its last word may be said to teach the opposite. "We have thus," say Professors Stewart and Tait, "reached the beginning as well as the end of the present visible universe, and have come to the conclusion that it began in time, and will in time come to an end." 2

2. The age of the world, or the date of its origination, has been left undetermined by the Mosaic record. Simply with the sublime act of calling it into existence time began. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Whether this occurred only some few thousand years ago, or immeasurable ages earlier, Scripture does not affirm. At first sight it might seem as if, according to the Hebrew cosmogony, the world were only 144 hours older than man. But, unless compelled by the exigencies of the text to interpret the successive periods, during which the Creator laboured in the

¹ Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, p. 382 (Bohn's edition); Ferrier's Institutes of Metaphysic, p. 522; Caird's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion, p. 126.

² The Unseen Universe, p. 93.

forming of the cosmos, as brief solar days of 24 hours each, there is no reason why we should adopt a conclusion so palpably in conflict with the ascertained results of geological research. There is, however, ground for believing, as was conjectured by Augustine long before the era of scientific discovery, that the "days" referred to in the Biblical account of creation were epochs of indefinite duration.1 Accordingly impartial exegesis readily admits that there is nothing in the record to forbid the supposition that incalculable ages may have rolled away since the heavens and the earth first sprang into the midst of space in obedience to the fiat of Omnipotence, Geology, it is well known, demands enormous intervals of time for the stratification of the 72,000 feet of rocks of which the earth's crust is composed-according to one calculation 1,036,800,000 years, according to another at least 86,400,000 years.2 The latter of these estimates has also been largely confirmed by Sir William Thomson, who, basing his computations as to the age of our planet on (1) the internal heat and rate of cooling of the earth, (2) the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation, and (3) the origin and age of the sun's heat, concludes from a consideration of all the evidence that the time available for the evolution of the present cosmos from primeval chaos cannot have been more than 100 millions of years.3 Professor Tait, however, inclines to think that 10 or 15 millions will more exactly represent the period in question.4 Yet neither of these requirements is of such a character as to embarrass the defender of the Biblical cosmogony; on the contrary, the remarkable correspondence between the best results of science and the most intelligent findings of Scripture interpretation lends additional validity to both.

De Genesi ad Literam, lib. v. 5; cf. Pulpit Commentary on Genesis, pp. 12, 13; and Cotterill's Does Science aid Faith? p. 16.

² Dawson, The Origin of the World, p. 335; Geikie's Textbook of Geology, p. 55.

³ Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin., xxiii. p. 157; cf. Fisher's Physics of the Earth's Crust. p. 94.

^{*} Recent Adrances in Physical Science, p. 167.

3. The order of creation as unfolded in the Hebrew record demands careful study. The original condition of this terrestrial planet is depicted by a combination of terms signifying "wasteness" and "emptiness." 1 Shortly after, in obedience to Heaven's command, it had leapt into space, this mundane sphere was "formless and lifeless, a huge, shapeless, objectless, tenantless mass of matter, the gaseous and solid elements commingled, in which neither organized structure, nor animated form, nor even distinctly-traced outline of any kind appeared." There is no reason to suppose that the writer intends to represent this primeval chaos as the ruin of an earlier cosmos, although this opinion has been championed by so distinguished commentators as Delitzsch, Murphy, and Wordsworth. Next, the work of transforming this rudis indigestaque moles, this chaotic heap of unarranged matter into a cosmos of light and life, order and beauty, is distributed through the above-mentioned six creative days, in a double series of three days each. In the first series of three days, i.e. in the first half of the creative week, the light is separated from the darkness on the first day, the atmosphere is uplifted above the still liquid globe on the second, and the dry land is distinguished from the sea on the third. Corresponding to these are the specific labours which occupy the second half of the creative week. On the first day of the second series the light which on the first day of the first series had been called into existence, is brought together and concentrated in the sun, moon, and stars; on the second day of the second series, the atmosphere and the waters which were parted on the second day of the first series, are filled with their respective inhabitants, the atmosphere with fowls and the waters with fish; on the third day of the second series the dry land with its vegetation, which was called forth on the third day of the first series, is constituted the abode of animals and man. Thus the order of creation is progressive. inorganic world is arranged; then the vegetable kingdom is

¹ Gen. i. 2. ² Pulpit Comn

introduced; after that ornithic and aquatic creatures are let loose within the trackless oceans of air and water; subsequent to these the higher animals appear upon the scene; and finally man, the image of his Maker, crowns the whole, completing the programme of the great Creator's work. is urged, indeed, that stress cannot be laid on this exposition of the world-building process, on the ground that important deviations from it occur in other parts of Scripture, as in Job xxxviii. 4, which depicts the angels and the morning stars as already in existence and shouting for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid and the corner-stones thereof were fastened, - as in Ps. civ., in which a poet of the Post-Exilian Period, while fashioning his creation ode after the pattern of the Mosaic programme, not only allows himself a large amount of licence in the collocation of its details, but omits all mention of creative days,-and as in Genesis itself (ii. 4, 25), in which man appears to have been created before the plants and the animals.¹ The two former of these citations, however, may be held as answering for themselves that being poetical compositions they are entitled to the privilege of freedom in expression commonly accorded to imaginative writings; while the third can, without violence to either text or exegesis, be so explained as to remove the least appearance of contrariety between the supposed Elohistic and Jehovistic records of the earth's formation.² Then, in this connection it is of interest to note that, if the old Chaldean and Babylonian legends of creation, recently exhumed from the royal library at Nineveh, may be regarded as representing the primeval faith of the Semitic settlers in the Euphrates valley, in many points they harmonize with the Biblical account just reviewed. First, the desolate and void condition of the earth is depicted on a tablet, the first of the creation series, discovered in the palace of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, B.C. 885.

¹ Kalisch on Genesis, p. 84; Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, Art.

"Schöpfung."

² See Pulpit Commentary on Genesis, in loco.

- 1. At that time the heavens above named not a name,
- 2. Nor did the earth below record one:
- 3. Yea, the deep was their first creator,
- 4. The flood of the sea was she who bore them all.
- 5. Their waters were embosomed in one place, and
- 6. The flowering reed was ungathered, the marsh-plant was ungrown.
- 7. At that time the gods had not issued forth, any one of them,
- 8. By no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed).
- 9. Then the great gods were made,
- 10. Lakamu and Lakhamu issued forth (the first),
- 11. They grew up. . . .
- 12. Next were made the host of heaven and earth,
- 13. The time was long (and then)
- 14. The gods Anu (Bel and Ea were born of)
- 15. The host of heaven and earth.

Professor Sayce, whose translation we have followed, is doubtful whether this account is older than the seventh century B.C., as there are no indications of its having been derived from an older Accadian document. Another legend, however, belonging to the library of Cuthah, in which certain expressions and proper names are Accadian, he infers should be assigned to the primitive Chaldeans, and in it is set forth "the struggle between the evil powers of darkness, storm, and chaos, and the bright powers of order and light." Then in the creation series of tablets are two fragments which George Smith conjectures have a reference to the first part of the third day's work; the one saying—

 When the foundation of the ground of rock (thou didst make)

¹ Fresh Light from the Assyrian Monuments, p. 27. A translation by Mr. Geo. Smith will be found in the Chaldean Genesis, p. 62; and one by Mr. Fox Talbot, in Records of the Past, vol. ix. 117. The three translations show slight variations.

² Records of the Past, vol. xi. pp. 107-114.
² Chaldean Genesis, p. 68.

- 2. The foundation of the ground thou didst call,
- 3. Thou didst beautify the heaven . . .
- 4. To the face of heaven . . .
- 5. Thou didst give . . . ;

And the other, which is much more mutilated and obscure, describing the God Sar (or Assur) as declaring—

- 7. Above the sea which is the sea of . . .
- 8. In front of the esara (firmament) which I have made.
- 9. Below the place I strengthen it.
- 10. Let there be made also elu (earth?) for the dwelling of [man?].

Passing on to the fifth tablet, a striking reminiscence of the fourth day's work appears. The subjoined translation is that of Mr. Fox Talbot¹—

- 1. He constructed dwellings for the great gods.
- 2. He fixed up constellations, whose figures were like animals.
- 3. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it,
- 4. Twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three,
- 5. And for the days of the year he appointed festivals.
- 6. He made dwellings for the planets: for their rising and setting.
- 7. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded.
- 8. He placed with them the dwellings of Bel and Hea.
- 9. He opened great gates on every side:
- 10. He made strong the portals, on the left hand and on the right:
- 11. In the centre he placed luminaries.
- 12. The moon he appointed to rule the night,
- 13. And to wander through the night until the dawn of day.
- 14. Every month without fail he made holy assembly-days.

¹ Records of the Past, vol. ix. p. 117. For Geo. Smith's translation see Chaldean Genesis, pp. 69-73.

- 15. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night,
- 16. It shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens.
- 17. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day.
- 18. And to cease from all business he commanded.
- 19. Then arose the sun in the horizon of heaven in (glory).

Next, a fragment obtained from one of the trenches at Konjunjik reads like an echo of the making of the animals and of the first pair of human beings:—

- 1. When the gods in their assembly had created . . .
- 2. Were delightful the strong monsters . . .
- 3. They caused to be living creatures.
- 4. Cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field . . .
- 5. They fixed for the living creatures.
- 6. . . . cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed . . .
- 9. . . . And the God Nin-si-ku (the lord of noble face) caused to be two . . . 1

"There is no need of pointing out," writes Professor Sayce, "how closely this Assyrian account of the creation resembles that of Genesis. Even the very wording and phrases of Genesis occur in it, and though no fragment is preserved which expressly tells us that the work of creation was accomplished in seven days, we may infer that such was the case from the order of events as recorded on the tablets." 2 To some this may suggest the thought that probably no more weight should be attached to the Mosaic than to the Assyrian or Chaldean outline of creation. Accordingly, before quitting this branch of our inquiry, it may serve an important end to indicate how far the order revealed in Scripture is borne out by the science of the nineteenth Christian century. It is frankly conceded that the writer of the Genesis account could not have designed to furnish a scientific exposition of the order in which the universe, or a part of it, this globe, was built; but it need not

¹ Chaldean Genesis, p. 76.

² Fresh Light from the Assyrian Monuments, p. 28.

for that reason be determined beforehand that the exposition which he does furnish is in conflict with science. contrary, it is certain that physical research into the primitive condition of our planet declares it to have existed in a state not dissimilar from that in which by the Hebrew narrative it is represented to have been prior to the first day's work, viz. "in an intensely heated, gaseous, or fluid state." 1 "What we actually know about the condition of the earth's interior," says a recent author, "is very little. Whether any portion of it, or how much of it, is at the present time liquid can only be determined by secondary considerations. But we may feel almost certain on account of its present form and the law of the variation of gravity upon its surface that it was once wholly melted."2 Then the order in which the organized creatures are introduced in the Mosaic programme, first vegetation, then the smaller aquatic creatures, after that the larger land animals, and finally man, receives a signal confirmation from the wonderful disclosures of the rocks. It is only needful to examine any carefully-prepared tabular view of the succession of geological formations and organic remains to perceive that it largely harmonizes with the outline sketched in Genesis. Beginning with the third day's vegetation, the best authorities are agreed that that may be traced in the graphite and unresolved schists of the Azoic or Hypozoic Period. The earliest life enters just above these, probably in the gigantic foraminifer, Eozoon Canadense of Principal Dawson, found in the Laurentian strata of the Palæozoic Period. Above this, in the Cambrian, Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, and Permian strata, still belonging to the Palæozoic Period, follows an unbroken succession of marine animals, from the shell fishes of the earlier to the lizard-like reptiles of the later depositions. Then the first trace of birds appears in what the Mezozoic or Secondary Period. Still ascending, in the Tertiary Period are discovered fossiliferous remains of ¹ Green's Geology, p. 487. ² Fisher's Physics of the Earth's Crust, p. 18.

the first living invertebrates, while in what is known as the Modern Period, in the Post-Pliocene formations, the first living mammals are detected, and last of all in the Post-Glacial and Recent Era of this same Period, man is observed to step upon the scene.1 It is scarcely possible to fail in recognising that the testimony of the rocks is in substantial accord with the Hebrew cosmogony. Then it would be wrong not to note the striking confirmation which this same cosmogony derives from the most recent of all our sciences, that of biology. The two results which, up to the present moment at all events, have been secured from this department of knowledge, are that all life has a common physical basis, every conceivable variety thereof being derived from the same kind of protoplasmic cell, and that no living creature can be spontaneously evolved from dead matter, but must be generated by some antecedent life.2 But exactly these are the assertions of the writer of this Scripture record. The entire world, or the successive series of worlds, of living creatures, is represented as having been developed from the underlying matter of the globe, the grass from the soil, the fish and the fowls from the sea, the animals from the ground, man himself from the dust of the earth. Yet this primitive composer is as much aware as any modern Huxley or Häeckel can be, that dead matter cannot originate life, that spontaneous generation is an unproved, and most likely an unprovable hypothesis, for in every instance in which he represents life as appearing, he ascribes it to an express fiat of the Creative Will-" Let the earth bring forth grass!" "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life," "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind," "Let us make man in our own image;" and in general, while maintaining that the present cosmos was arranged by the operation of

¹ The question of the Antiquity of Man will be discussed in the next article of this series.

² The Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., "Researches on the Origin and Life Histories of the Least and Lowest Living Things," *Nature*, 23rd October 1884.

second causes, and in accordance with what are usually styled the laws of nature, he is ever careful to trace the efficiency of these second causes to the Will of Elohim as the First Cause of all, and to portray the laws of nature as nothing other than the modes in which the Creative Will worked out its magnificent designs-"And God said, Let the waters under heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so;"1 and again, "Let the earth bring forth grass," and "the earth brought forth grass." It is scarcely requisite to add that the popular hypothesis of evolution, in so far as it sets forth the order and method and progress of the Divine creative activity in each separate kingdomthe inorganic, the vegetable, the animal, the humandoes not conflict with the teaching of this ancient record, but rather surprisingly accords with the exhibition it gives of the gradual unfolding of the Supreme World - Builder's plan.

4. The purpose of creation, though not expressly stated in the Hebrew cosmogony, may be reasonably deduced from certain things in it which strongly arrest attention. gradually-ascending order of creation from the arrangement of inorganic matter up to the fashioning of man, would seem to indicate that the entire previous process of globe construction had been designed to prepare the way for the appearance of man as the decus et tutamen, the glory and defence of the visible universe; and this surmise may be said to derive confirmation from the solemn and deliberate manner in which the Creator is exhibited as proceeding to the task of man's formation—"Let us make man in our own image;" while, if more is needful to impart to it certainty, the singular fact may be pointed to that immediately after man is made, the work of creation ceases, and the Divine Artificer enters on His Sabbatic rest. Then the termination of the great creation process in the Sabbath as its ornament and crown, has been

¹ Gen. i. 9.

² Gen. i. 11.

³ Gen. i. 26.

thought to show 1 that even from the beginning the Divine purpose had an outlook towards the kingdom of God to be afterwards established in Israel. Perhaps also it is legitimate to see in man's designation as the image and likeness of Elohim, and in his elevation to supreme dominion over the material globe with all its tenants, a prophecy of One in whom that lofty ideal of humanity should subsequently be realized. In this light they were viewed by the Hebrew Psalmist,² and after him by the writer to the Hebrews;³ and when this thought is added to the two preceding, it will be discovered that the threefold purpose for which the universe was summoned into space and the earth slowly elaborated from primeval chaos, was one worthy of a God, viz. that it might serve as a home for the human family, as a place of education for the chosen people, as an arena on which the Son of God and Son of man might carry forward and accomplish the salvation of a lost world.

5. The goal of the universe—whither it is tending—does not properly fall within the scope of the Mosaic record of creation. Information as to it can only be obtained from a careful study of the later writings of the Christian Apostles. These declare that as the universe, the heavens and the earth, has had a beginning, so will it also have an end; and in this they are supported by the verdict of the best science of today. They likewise state, and in this they are at least not contradicted by either science or philosophy, that from the terrible catastrophe in which this present order will be engulfed, a second cosmos, a new heavens and a new earth, will arise, in which the sinless sons and daughters of God will find an eternal home.

T. WHITELAW.

¹ Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, Art. "Schöpfung."

² Ps. viii. ³ Heb. ii. 6-9. ⁴ See above, p. 440.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.

T.

In addition to the Book of Baruch, a translation of which is contained in the Apocrypha of our English Bibles, there had from old time been known to exist a certain document in the Syrian language, called "The Epistle of Baruch the scribe to the nine-and-a-half tribes beyond the Euphrates." 1 This had been published in the London and Paris Polyglots in Syriac and Latin, in Latin alone by Fabricius in his Codex Pseudepigr. Vet. Test., and in English by G. Whiston in his Authentic Later, a French rendering was given by Migne in the Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, and Lagarde put forth again the Syriac version in his Syriac edition of the Old Testament Many questions resulted from the publication of Apocrypha. Was it a complete work or a fragment of this document. some larger treatise? What was its connection, if any, with the usually-received apocryphal work of Baruch? What was its original language? Who and of what country was its author? Jew or Christian? And when was the letter These inquiries greatly exercised the minds of written? scholars abroad, and the theories evoked by the discussion show a wide divergence of opinion.2 But many of these questions were answered by the discovery in 1866 of a Syriac version of the Apocalypse of Baruch, of which this epistle formed the concluding portion. This interesting work was brought to light by the industry of A. N. Ceriani, the learned librarian at Milan, to whom we are indebted for the disinter-

² See Kneucker, Das Buch Baruch, p. 190 ff.

¹ There exists also an Ethiopic work called by Dillmann, "Reliqua verborum Baruchi haud apocrypha, quæ ad tempus quo in Babylonia captivi erant pertinent."—Chrest. Æthiop. Lips. 1866.

ment of that long-lost book, *The Assumption of Moses.*¹ In a MS. of the sixth century, Ceriani found a complete copy of the Apocalypse, which he published first in a Latin translation, and later in the original Syriac. This Latin version has been reprinted by Fritzsche, and is commonly regarded as equivalent to the authentic copy.²

Before discussing the contents of the book, a few words must be prefixed on the subject of the author and matters connected therewith.

The earliest quotation of the book occurs in a lost work of Papias, the disciple of St. John, cited by Irenæus (Adv. Hares. v. 33, 3). Herein it is asserted that in Messiah's days the vine shall have a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand bunches, and each bunch shall have a thousand grapes, and each grape shall make a cor of wine. Before it was known whence this legend was derived, neologian critics. assuming it to have Christ as its author, found in it a subject of ridicule and offence. It is now shown to occur in the Apocalypse of Baruch, chap. xxix. That the saying was attributed to Christ is easily accounted for. Papias wrote his lost work between 120 and 130 A.D., by which time our book must have become well known among Christians. mention of Messiah occurs just before the legend; and doubtless persons remembered the story of the vine in connection with the Messiah, and at last quoted it as spoken by Christ Himself.8 Whether the Apocalypse is referred to in any of the catalogues of sacred books may reasonably be doubted. The term "Baruch," in Pseudo-Athanasius' Synopsis, and in the Stichometria of Nicephorus, belongs probably to the book so called in the Septuagint version. But a portion of the work from early times formed an integral part of the Syriac Bible,

¹ See article in The Interpreter, March 1885.

² The most available comment on the book is that by Joseph Langen, Commentatio qua Apocalypsis Baruch anno superiori primum edita illustratur. Bonnæ, 1867.

³ Ewald in Gött. gelehrte Anz 1867 p. 1715.

and to this day is used among the Jacobites in their funeral service.1 Its real date, however, can only approximately be determined. Of course, the writer merely assumes the person of Baruch, the son of Neriah, for literary purposes, not with any idea of imposing upon the credulity of his hearers. announces at the commencement that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jechoniah, king of This at once places the revelation in an unhistorical region; for Jechoniah lived eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, reigned only three months, and then was carried captive to Babylon. And the departure from historical fact is continued in chap, vi., where it is said that on the next day after this revelation was made the city was taken by the The clue to this apparent mistake is to be found Chaldmans. in the nature of the treatise. It is an Apocalypse, and in it real events are introduced with the special purpose of foreshadowing or delineating other circumstances. Now this first destruction of Jerusalem adumbrated its final destruction under Titus, and we cannot doubt that the seer is referring to this latter calamity under the figure of the first. If he means that the vision came to him twenty-five years after the Chaldæan invasion, he intends to affirm that he received the revelation so long after the ruin of the holy city, that is, about 95 A.D. Or the twenty-five years may be dated from the captivity of Jechoniah, which was some eleven years earlier, a mode of reckoning used by Ezekiel (e.g. chap. xxix. 17, xxx. 20, xxxi. 1) and the exiles in Chaldæa. This would make the date of our book to be about 84 A.D. That it was composed in early Christian times may be gathered from certain passages which bear evident marks of being no late interpolations, but portions of the Omitting for the present those which contain original work. Messianic teaching, we will quote a few which betray a Christian spirit or some acquaintance with the literature of the New Testament.² Chap. x. 13, 14: "Ye bridegrooms, enter

¹ Renan, Journal des Savants, April 1877.

* Kneucker, p. 195.

not into your chambers; ye women, pray not that ye may bear children; for the barren shall rejoice, and they that have not sons shall be glad, and they that have sons shall be sorrowful" (comp. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii, 29). xxi. 13: "If this were the only life which men have, nothing could be more miserable" (1 Cor. xv. 19). Chap. xxiv. 1: "Lo, the days come, and the books shall be opened, in which are written the sins of those who have sinned, and the treasure-houses shall be disclosed in which is gathered the righteousness of those who were justified on earth" (Rev. xx. 12). Chap. xlviii. 34: "There shall be rumours many and messengers not a few; and mighty works shall be shown, and promises made of which some shall be vain and some shall be confirmed" (Matt. xxiv. 24-26). Chap. xx. 1, 2: "The days shall come when the times shall hasten more than of old, and the hours shall speed on quicker than before, and the years shall pass away more rapidly than now. For this I have sustained Sion, that I might rather hasten and visit the world in her time" ("For the elect's sake those days shall be shortened," Matt. xxiv. 22). Chap. liv. 10: "Blessed is my mother among them that bear children, praised shall she be among women" (Luke i. 42, xi. 27). "For what gain have men lost their life, and what have they who were once on earth given in exchange for their soul" (chap. l.)? This is remarkably similar to Matt. xvi. 25, 26, especially as in both passages the pleasures of this life are contrasted with the joys of heaven. The many parallelisms between our book and the Revelation of St. John make it almost a certainty that the seer was acquainted with the latter work.1 Thus it is said. chaps, xx. xlviii., that the end of the times draws near (Rev. i. 1, 3, xxii. 7); chap. xxi. lix., that spirits stand before the throne of God like burning lamps (Rev. i. 4, iv. 5); chaps. ii. xiv., that the righteous intercede for sinners before God (Rev. v. 8, viii. 3); chap, xlviii., evil spirits and those who

are inspired by them shall work miracles (Rev. xiii. 13, xvi. 14); chap. xxix., the hidden manna shall be given as a reward to the righteous (Rev. ii. 17). Chaps, lxxvii. lxxxvii., an eagle is sent to make a solemn announcement (Rev. viii. 13, άετοῦ); chap. xxviii., the number three and a half is used in mystic computation of time (Rev. iii. 9, etc.); chap. iv., the sacred city Jerusalem is taken up to heaven, which St. John sees descending (Rev. iii, 12, xxi, 2). Then there are many expressions which have a Christian sound, as Faith, Faithful, Those who believe, The written law, Future judgment, Promise of the life to come, The new world, The mouth of hell, The place of hope, Saved in his works (Jas. ii. 14). These and such-like terms do not necessarily imply that the writer was a Christian, which notion his views concerning the Messiah decidedly nullify; but they show that he was conversant with Christian ideas, and had some acquaintance with the new literature which had sprung up under the gospel.

Why the writer has assumed the name of Baruch is not difficult to imagine. The fame of one so well known, and associated with the great prophet Jeremiah, would add an authority to a work which no other personality would have If too, as must be allowed, the book has a close and remarkable analogy with what we call the Second Book of Esdras, another reason may be found for the appropriation of We need not, with Ewald, hold that the the name Baruch. two works are the production of the same author (as indeed there are some facts which militate against this view); but it is evident that the Second Esdras was well known to our writer. Not wishing to repeat the personification of his predecessor, and yet desirous of giving his composition an authorization not inferior, he fixed on the follower of Jeremiah as the Recipient of the Revelation which he purposed to publish. Whether in this he was consciously treading in the steps of

¹ The two works are compared by Langen, p. 6 ff. See also Ewald, ut sup. p. 1707.

the composer of the Apocryphal Book of Baruch is a matter Kneucker identifies the two. His view is, that, of doubt. whereas in chap, lxxvii, the seer was to write two letters, one to the nine-and-a-half tribes to be conveyed by an eagle, and one to the brethren in Babylon to be taken thither by three men, and only the former of these is forthcoming in the Apocalypse, the other is the "Baruch" of the Septuagint. This is described in the Syriac MS. as "the Second Epistle of Baruch the Scribe," the first being that to the nine-and-a-half tribes. Opposed to this conjecture is the fact, that the Book or Epistle of Baruch, according to the received text, is sent from Babylon to Jerusalem, not from Jerusalem to Babylon, and is generally allowed to be of a much earlier date than the Apocalypse and of Hebrew origin. The Syriac inscription is probably an unauthorized interpolation intended to show a connection between the two treatises, but warranted neither by internal nor external evidence. That the work was written originally in Greek is evident from an examination of the Syriac version, wherein are found actual Greek words transliterated, as well as what were evidently paronomasias in the original, but which have lost their force in translation.1 Besides this, the superscription in the Syriac MS, expressly notifies that the work is a translation from the Greek; and there is some evidence of the use of the Septuagint in the references to the Old Testament, as where Baruch is said to have received a revelation under the oak near Hebron (chaps. vi. xlvii. lxxvii.), which idea is probably derived from Gen. xiii. 18: παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ, ἡ ἡν ἐν Χεβρώμ. It is certain, too, that the author's locality is Jerusalem. brethren," he says, chap. lxxx., " are carried captive to Babylon; we, a poor remnant, are left here." Only in Palestine or Alexandria could such a book have been composed in the

^{&#}x27; See Kneucker, p. 191, note 2, and Langen, § vii. We have in the Latin version, "agon et molestia in labore multo," which must be the equivalent of the Greek άγών τι καὶ ἐλίψις ἐν σολλῷ πόνφ.

Greek language. But there is no trace of Judæo-Alexandrian philosophy (such as meets us in Philo's writings and the Book of Wisdom) to be found in the Apocalypse. Ecclesiasticus, it takes its stand on the plain dogmatic teaching of the Scriptures and the traditions concerning Messiah then extant. To none but Palestinian Jews, who had seen their holy city destroyed, could this prophecy, which promised restoration and prosperity to their ruined capital, have been This point being settled, we may fix the date at about A.D. 90. We have noticed above an argument for this date from the author's own statement concerning the time that the revelation was made unto him. Another may be drawn from Papias' reference to the book. The lost work of this Father was written about A.D. 120-130. Now he quotes this Apocalypse as well known to his readers. Such an acquaintance could hardly have been obtained under thirty vears or more. This lands us again at the same period. does the inference (if legitimate) that it was written after St. Matthew's Gospel and the Revelation of St. John. it have been composed after the total overthrow of Jerusalem The destruction of the city by by Adrian (A.D. 135). Nebuchadnezzar and by Titus is mentioned, but no hint of a third and more effectual demolition is given. On the contrary, restoration is promised after the second ruin, and the people, groaning under this calamity, are comforted with the thought of speedy and most complete re-establishment. will place the writing between A.D. 70 and A.D. 135, and help to confirm our previous conclusion.

The book is divided into two unequal parts, the first (chap. i.—lxxvii.) containing the historical points and the revelation of past and future, the second being the letter to the nine-and-a-half tribes. The former is sent to Babylon, which we must consider to mean Rome; the latter, to the Jews dispersed in the Parthian kindgom, "across the river," as it is expressed, the Euphrates being the boundary line dividing the eastern

empire of the Parthians from the western empire of the Romans. This distinction between the two great members of the dispersion is found in many other documents of this time, most of which, however, were written with reference to Rome.1 The entire demolition of ancient Jerusalem, with all its calamitous consequences, under Adrian led to the loss of much of the literature of the period, the preservation of any portion being probably due to the care of Christians. These carried with them in their wanderings the books which have come down to us or were known to the early Fathers. The letter at the end of the Apocalypse, as being addressed to the Eastern Jews, was soon separated from the other part, and translated into Syriac and widely circulated, while the other section, comprising three-fourths of the whole, was so completely lost that it soon existed only in a Syriac version, which, as has been mentioned, itself remained unknown until quite recently.

In these and such-like Apocalyptic writings there is a certain similarity which greatly conduces to their correct interpretation. Under the general design of comforting his countrymen in times of trouble and defeat with the hope of the speedy appearance of the Messiah, the seer composes a prophecy which shall embrace the past, the present, and the He represents himself as receiving direct communication from God, and enjoined to make known the revelation to men. Placing himself in the distant past, he gives a summary of the history of his people up to the present time, touches lightly on the events that pass before his own eyes, and then in figure and type shadows forth a glorious future which shall abundantly compensate the distress and humiliation now prevalent. This is very nearly an outline of the Apocalypse of Baruch. portion, comprising chapters i.-lxxvii., is divided into seven sections, the close of each section being usually marked by a

¹ Ewald, p. 1713.

fast of seven days. In the twenty-fifth year of Jechoniah, king of Judah, it was revealed to Baruch that Jerusalem and her people should be destroyed, and the inhabitants of the land should be carried away captive. Upon his asking whether the end of the world should come then, he is told that the prophecies which spoke of the everlasting covenant referred to a new world and a new Jerusalem which should be eternal. On the next day the Chaldmans took the city: but first, that the enemy might not be able to vaunt their power, the angels destroy the walls and hide in the earth the precious things of the Temple. Zedekiah the king is taken captive to Babylon, while Baruch and Jeremiah are left in Jerusalem, and weep and fast seven days (i.-ix.). Jeremiah by Divine command is sent to Babylon, but Baruch stays amid the ruins of the city to receive a revelation, which comes to him after another seven days' fast (x.-xii.).2 As he stands on Mount Sion, a voice falls from heaven, telling him that his people are chastised in mercy in order to lead them to repentance: he complains that good men are no better off than sinners and the heathen, though this world was made for God's people; and the Lord answers, that this life is short and full of trouble, but the life to come shall set right all present anomalies. And He bids Baruch prepare himself for a new revelation (xiii.-xx.). At the end of seven days the seer comes to the appointed place, and asks impatiently to know the meaning and the issue of God's dealings with men. He is told that he is ignorant, but is comforted with the hope that the end is near, when good and evil shall meet their reward; and the signs that shall precede this final time are

¹ So 2 Esdr. v. 13, vi. 31. In other works of this kind the fast is usually of three days' duration (three weeks in Dan. x. 2). Comp. Assumpt. Mos. ix. 6; 2 Macc. xiii. 12; Test. xii. Patr. Test. Jos. 3.

² Historical truth is here violated. Jeremiah was compelled to go to Egypt, while Baruch in the course of time, according to Jewish tradition, made his way to Babylon. The seer has manipulated facts to suit the requirements of his Apocalypse. Comp. Jer. xliii. and Bar. i.

³ This notion is found, 2 Esdr. vi. 55, ix. 13; Assumpt. Mos. i. 12.

enumerated under twelve divisions, concluding with the days of Messiah and His two advents—the first to establish an earthly kingdom, the second to manifest His eternal reign. when He shall raise up those who have slept in hope, and reward them with heavenly glory (xxi.-xxx.). Then the prophet, as he sleeps amid the ruins of the Holy Place, sees in a vision on one side a mighty forest girt by mountains, and on the other a vine from whose roots issued a placid streamlet. Anon this streamlet became a great river, and it overthrew the mountain, and tore up the forest, leaving of it nothing but one cedar, which also at length it destroyed. And the vine and the stream exulted over the fallen cedar, and the vine grew more and more, and all the plain was filled with flowers that fade not. The seer is told that hereby is signified the fate of four kingdoms which have afflicted Sion, the last of which, the most powerful and most evil of them all, is to perish before the arms of Messiah (xxxi.-xliii.). After another seven days' fast Baruch tells the people of his approaching departure, and urges them to continue faithful to the law, explaining to them the retribution of the world to come (xliv.-xlvii.). Another seven days' fast intervenes, and then Baruch in answer to his prayer is told of the tribulations that are to come upon the earth, and of the manner of the resurrection both of the evil and the good, and their punishment and reward. After this, he sees a vision of alternate dark and bright waters, which is explained as a record of Israel's history from Adam to Messiah (xlviii.-lxxi.). glories of Messiah's eternal kingdom are then unfolded. Baruch is informed that shortly he will be taken from earth, though not by death; 1 he again announces his departure to his friends, prays for their welfare, and writes two letters, one to the exiles in Babylon, which he sends by the hands of men, and one to the nine-and-a-half tribes beyond the river, which he entrusts to an eagle (lxxii.-lxxvii.). The latter epistle is

¹ Comp. 2 Esdr. xiv. 9, 49. Fr.

In it he comforts his given in full and concludes the book. distant brethren under their trials with the remembrance that God has not cast off His love for them, but is only temporarily chastening them for their disobedience. Nebuchadnezzar indeed has been permitted to afflict them grievously, but it was the Lord who destroyed the forts and walls; and He also hid the sacred vessels that the heathen should not rejoice over them. All shall be changed ere long; the day is soon coming when the Gentiles shall be punished for their iniquity, and Israel shall be rewarded; only let them prepare for the life to come by virtue and obedience, and all shall be well with them (lxxviii.-lxxxvii.). The other epistle is not given, and some, as I mentioned above, have considered the Septuagintal "Baruch" to be the missing document. But as this theory is inadmissible, we must deem either that the writing is wholly lost, or that the two epistles were identical. There is nothing improbable in the latter supposition. Their tenor would naturally be similar, and it is difficult to see what more the seer could have said than he had already expressed in the extant letter.

WILLIAM J. DEANE.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

BE it observed, in the first place, that the Epistle is itself anonymous. The writer never mentions his own name, or intimates who he is. Hence the questions of authorship and of canonicity may in this case be kept distinct. This could not be in the case of any of St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, in all of which he gives his own name and designation, and often alludes in detail to his circumstances at the time of writing, and his relations to the persons addressed. In such cases denial of the alleged authorship would involve denial of the writing being what it professes to be, and hence of its claim to be included in the Canon as genuine and authoritative. But it is not so in the case before us. Nor does deference to the judgment or consentient tradition of the Church require us to conclude St. Paul to have been the author. The very title, "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews," is not ancient: the earlier title was simply $\Pi \rho \delta s$ ' $E \beta \rho a iov_s$. all the most ancient MSS., and so referred to by Origen, quoted by Eusebius (H. E. vi. 25); and, though the tradition of St. Paul's authorship was undoubtedly a very early one, yet it was not in primitive times, any more than in our own, considered conclusive by those who were competent to judge, including Fathers of the highest repute from the second century downwards.

The earliest known allusion to the authorship of the Epistle is that of Clement of Alexandria, who often quoted it in his extant works, spoke of it himself, and recorded something that Pantænus before him had said of it. We are indebted to Eusebius for the following interesting references to the *Hypotyposes* of Clement:—"In the *Hypotyposes*,

to speak briefly, he (i.e. Clemens Alexandrinus) has given a compressed account of the whole testamentary Scripture, not omitting even the disputed books, I mean the Epistle of Jude and the rest of the catholic Epistles, and that of Barnabas, and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter. And as to the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says that it is Paul's, but that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke translated it carefully and published it to the Greeks; that consequently there is found the same colour. with regard to style, in this Epistle and in the Acts; but that it is not prefaced by 'Paul the Apostle' with good reason: 'for (says he) as he was sending it to the Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him and suspected him, he very wisely did not repel them at the beginning by appending his name.' Then he goes on to say, 'But, as the blessed presbyter before now used to say, since the Lord was sent to the Hebrews as being the apostle of the Almighty, Paul, out of modesty, as having been sent to the Gentiles, does not inscribe himself apostle of the Hebrews, both because of the honour due to the Lord, and because of its being a work of supererogation that he wrote also to the Hebrews, being herald and apostle of the Gentiles'" (Euseb. H. E. vi. 14).1 "The blessed presbyter" referred to may be concluded to have been Pantænus, to whose teaching Clement acknowledged himself to have been especially indebted:--" Who also in the Hypotyposes which he composed makes mention by name of Pantænus as his master" (Euseb. H. E. v. ii.; cf. vi. 13). Also in his Stromata (i. § 11), Clement, speaking of his various teachers in various places, says that he found at last in Egypt the true master for whom he had before sought in vain, meaning undoubtedly this same Pantænus, whom Eusebius, speaking of the time of Commodus (180-192),

¹ The later Greek Fathers, after St. Paul had come to be accepted as the writer, give generally this reason for the absence of his name. (See Catenæ, ed. Cramer.)

mentions as the leading teacher at Alexandria (H. E. v. 10). Jerome, also (in Catal. 36), speaks of Pantænus thus: "Pantænus, stoicæ sectæ philosophus, juxta quandam veterem in Alexandria consuetudinem, ubi a Marco Evangelista semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores, tantæ prudentiæ et eruditionis tam in Scripturis divinis, quam in sæculari literatura, fuit, ut in Indiam quoque-mitteretur." It would appear, then, that Clement, on coming to Alexandria, found Pantænus presiding over the famous catechetical school there, whom, according to Eusebius and others, he succeeded in his office. of Clement's presidency having been c, A.D. 190-203, it thus is evident that, certainly not long after the middle of the second century, the Epistle to the Hebrews was received in the Alexandrian Church as one of St. Paul's; and of course the presumption is that it had been handed down as such from an earlier date: --- which presumption is confirmed by Origen's words, quoted below, about "men of old" having so transmitted it. This distinct early tradition is plainly of great importance in the argument as to authorship. It appears further, from the Hypotyposes, quoted as above by Eusebius, that the Alexandrian scholars had observed certain peculiarities in the Epistle, distinguishing it from others by St. Paul. that Pantænus is said to have remarked on was its being, unlike the rest, anonymous; and this he had his own way of accounting for. After him, Clement suggested a further explanation, and was also struck by the style being unlike St. Paul and reminding him rather of St. Luke. He therefore maintained, having possibly started, the view of the Greek Epistle being a translation by that evangelist from a Hebrew original. It does not appear from the way in which Eusebius quotes him as above, that this was more than his own opinion, or that he had anything beyond internal evidence to go upon, though Delitzsch thinks otherwise. His view, in any case, is untenable, since the Epistle has distinct internal evidence of being an original composition in Greek. And so Origen,

a still abler and more distinguished man, who succeeded Clement as head of the Alexandrian school, seems to have clearly seen, Eusebius being again our authority. After an account of Origen's catalogue of the canonical books, the writer proceeds:—"In addition to these things, concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, he (Origen) sets forth in his homilies upon it as follows:—'That the style (γαρακτήρ της λέξεως) of the Epistle entitled to the Hebrews has not the rudeness in speech (τὸ ἐν λόγω ἰδιωτικόν) of the apostle, who acknowledged himself to be rude in speech (ίδιώτην τῷ λόγφ. See 2 Cor. xi. 6), that is, in his diction, but that the Epistle is more purely Greek in composition (συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως), every one who is competent to judge of differences of diction would acknowledge. Again, that the thoughts of the epistle are wonderful, and not second to the acknowledged apostolic writings, this, too, every one that gives attention to the reading of the apostolic writings would agree.' after other things, he adds further, 'But I, to declare my own opinion, should say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and composition that of some one who recorded from memory the apostle's teaching, and as it were interpreted (or "wrote a commentary on "-σγολιογραφήσαντος) what had been spoken by his master. If, then, any Church receives this Epistle as Paul's, let it be well esteemed even also on this account (i.e. let it not on this account lose the credit due to it as a witness to the truth); for not without good reason (οὐ γὰρ εἰκή) have the men of old handed it down as Paul's. But as to who wrote the Epistle, the truth God knows. account that has reached us is, on the part of some, that Clement, who became bishop of the Romans, wrote the Epistle; on the part of others, that Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts, did so'" (Euseb. H. E. vi. 25).

Now let us here observe that Origen does not, any more than his predecessors, dispute the essentially Pauline origin of the Epistle. Of this he is satisfied, both on the ground of

the ancient tradition to which he properly attaches great importance, and also on the ground of the ideas of the Epistle being so entirely worthy of the great apostle. He only feels himself convinced, in view of the Greek idiom and the general style, that Paul could not have been the actual writer. theory is compatible with the Epistle having been written either during the apostle's life and with his knowledge and sanction, or after his death by a disciple who had taken notes of his teaching, or, at any rate, retained it in his mind. Further, he evidently attaches no value to the opinions which had become current in his time as to one person rather than another having been the actual writer. He was too sound a critic to consider (as Clement seems to have done) mere coincidences of phraseology cogent evidences in favour of St. Luke. All he can be sure of is, that the Epistle had not been written by St. Paul himself, though he has no doubt of its being Pauline, i.e. a true embodiment of St. Paul's teaching. Now the opinion of Origen, thus expressed, is of peculiar value; not only on account of the early age in which he lived, with all the facts that could be then known before him, but also because of his competence to form a sound judgment on such a subject; and the fact of his having been an original and somewhat free thinker adds to, rather than detracts from, the value of his verdict. His well-considered words express, in fact, the state of the case as it remains to the present day, subsequent inquiries having thrown little further light upon it.

After Origen, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (ob. A.D. 264-5), who had been his disciple, and all the ecclesiastical writers of Egypt, Syria, and the East generally, cite the Epistle without hesitation as St. Paul's. Arius, too, and the early Arians, so accepted it; and if some of the later Arians rejected it as such, it appears to have been only on controversial grounds. (See Epiphanius, Hæres. 69; and Theodoret, in the preface to his Commentary on the Epistle, who says, "It is no wonder that those who are infected with the Arian

malady should rage against the apostolic writings, separating the Epistle to the Hebrews from the rest, and calling it spurious.") Eusebius also, expressing the unanimous judgment of the East, places it (though not without allusion to the doubts, to be noticed presently, entertained by the Church of Rome) among the indisputable Pauline writings (H. E. iii. 3; iii. 25). He is aware, however, of the difficulties attending the supposition that the Greek Epistle, as it stands, was written by St. Paul, and gives the translation theory (which, as we have seen, was held by Clement of Alexandria) as the current one in his day, or, at any rate, as what he had himself got hold of:-"For, Paul having written to the Hebrews in their native language, some say that Luke the Evangelist, and others that this same Clement (i.e. of Rome) translated the writing." He adds his own opinion in favour of Clement having been the translator, on the ground of the resemblances, in diction and thought, between his undoubted Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Hebrews. What he thus says is only of value as testimony to the acceptance of the Epistle throughout the East as essentially Pauline. His own notions as to its being a translation, and Clement the translator, need carry little weight with us; those of Origen (which, though he himself records them, he does not seem to have appreciated) of course outweigh them greatly.

In the West, however, there was not for some centuries any such general acceptance of the Epistle as Pauline. Though indubitable references to it by Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians show that it was certainly known at Rome at the end of the first century, yet it is plain that the later Western Fathers, till the fourth century, did not recognise it as having the authority of St. Paul. In the Muratorian Fragment,—composed probably not long after A.D. 170,1—though we cannot conclude, the document

¹ On the Muratorian Fragment, see Westcott's Canon of the New Testament, Part I., ch. ii., § 12, and Appendix C.

being so defective, that the epistle was not originally mentioned, yet it cannot have been included among St. Paul's; for in the extant passage which refers to these we read. "Cum ipse beatus Apostolus Paulus, sequens predecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali; ad Corinthios prima, ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatas quinta, ad Thessalonicenses sexta, ad Romanos septima. . . . Verum ad Philemonem unam, et ad Titum unam, et ad Timotheum duas pro affectu et dilectione. . . . Fertur etiam ad Laodicenses [alia], alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctæ ad hæresim Marcionis, et alia plura quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest." Thus, if it was mentioned at all in some part of the Fragment now missing, it cannot have been ranked among the real or reputed Epistles of St. Paul. Further, Photius (Bibl. cod. 121) quotes Hippolytus (c. A.D. 200) as denying the Epistle to be by St. Paul; and (Bibl. cod. 232) he gives an extract from the tritheist Stephanus (surnamed o Γόβαρος), in which the same is said of Irenæus also. Irenæus might be supposed likely, from his original training in Asia Minor, to have held to the Eastern tradition and opinion; but it does not follow that this would be so after his connection with the Western Church in Gaul; and it is observable that in his extant works (with the exception of "verbo virtutis suæ" in his Hær. ii. 30, 9) there appears to be no obvious allusion to the epistle; though, on the other hand, Eusebius (H. E. v. 26) says that he spoke of it and quoted it in one of his now lost works,—which still proves only that he was acquainted The mere negative evidence of a work not being with it. quoted may, however, easily be pressed too far, and might

¹ It has been suggested that the spurious Epistle to the Alexandrians mentioned in the Fragment might be our Epistle to the Hebrews, which had been perhaps addressed to the Jews of Alexandria; in which case the early familiarity with it in that place would be accounted for. But our anonymous Epistle could hardly be spoken of as "Pauli nomine fincta," or described as directed against the heresy of Marcion.

often lead, if relied on, to erroneous conclusions. also, the silence of Novatian in his extant writings is not in itself conclusive, though the Epistle contains passages which might have served his controversial purposes. But we have in this case plenty of positive evidence, besides that already adduced, of the general opinion of the Western Church. Eusebius (H. E. vi. 20), speaking of a dialogue by Caius, "a very eloquent man," delivered at Rome under Zephyrinus against Proclus (a Montanist), says of this Caius that he "mentions only thirteen Epistles of the holy apostle, not classing that to the Hebrews with the rest, as even yet some of the Romans do not allow it to be a work of the apostle." Jerome (De vir. illustr. c. 59) confirms this testimony, and gives the date of Zephyrinus, under whom Caius wrote, -viz, the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). To the same period belongs the testimony of Tertullian, who is singular in distinctly assigning the Epistle to another author than St. Paul, viz. Barnabas:-"Extat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, a Deo satis auctorati viri, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore [1 Cor. ix. 6]. . . . Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum." that he refers to our Epistle appears from his going on to quote it thus: "Monens itaque discipulos omissis omnibus initiis ad perfectionem magis tendere, Impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati sunt," etc. (Tertull. De pudicit. c. xx.) He thus distinctly assigns it not to Paul but to Barnabas, and also implies that, though he himself accepted it as sufficiently authoritative, it was not so accepted by all Churches,-it was only "more received" than the apocryphal "Shepherd," attributed also to Barnabas. Cyprian also (ob. A.D. 258) speaks only of Epistles by St. Paul "ad septem ecclesias"; Victorinus (ob. c. 303) does the same; and, lastly, Jerome (ob. A.D. 420) distinctly says, "Eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas" (Ep. 129, ad Dardanum). Its non-acceptance as canonical, which Jerome

thus alleges, and which is otherwise confirmed, was doubtless due mainly, if not entirely, to the fact that it was not recognised as having the authority of St. Paul; it was because its authorship had been questioned, as appears from the testimonies adduced above, that it was not included in the accepted Canon.

But before the end of the fourth century, during the latter part of which Jerome thus wrote, the Epistle came to be accepted as Pauline in the West as well as in the East. Athanasius (ob. 373), Cyril of Jerusalem (ob. 403), Gregory Nazianzen (ob. 389-90), a Canon of the Council of Laodicea (364), and the 85th of the Apostolic Canons, reckon fourteen Epistles of St. Paul. So also the Council of Carthage (419), of Hippo Regius (393), of Carthage (397), Innocent I. in his Ep. ad Exsuperium (405), and Gelasius (494). Ambrose also (ob. A.D. 397), Rufinus (ob. c. 411), Gaudentius, and Faustinus refer to the Epistle as St. Paul's. Thenceforth the Epistle retained its place in the Canon as one of St. Paul's without dispute, till the question was again raised in the sixteenth century. Jerome himself doubtless contributed to this result by drawing attention to the tradition and opinion of the East, and by giving expression to his own conclusions. sums up the views that had been held on the subject:-"Epistola autem quæ fertur ad Hebræos non ejus creditur propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam, sed vel Barnabæ juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucæ Evangelistæ juxta quosdam, vel Clementis Romanæ postea ecclesiæ episcopi, quem aiunt sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone. certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos et, propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis, titulum in principio salutationis ampu-Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebraice, id est suo eloquio disertissime, ut ea quæ eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebræo eloquentius verterentur in Græcam, et hanc causam esse quod a cæteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur" (De vir. illustr. c. 5). He evidently had before him in this summary what Clement of Alexandria and Origen, as well as others, had said; and it is to be observed that in the end he gives, as held by some, a view intermediate between that of Clement, who took the Greek Epistle to be a mere translation from St. Paul's Hebrew, and that of Origen, who seems to have regarded it as an original composition founded only on notes or recollections of the apostle's teaching. For the view here given is, that an actual Hebrew letter by St. Paul had been, not simply translated, but rewritten in Greek in a more eloquent style; and, apparently, that St. Paul had written his original with an intention that this should be done by some other hand. Thus the form and style of the Epistle is reconciled more fully than it is by Origen with the tradition of the Pauline authorship. Further, Jerome thus expresses his own conclusions with regard to the Epistle's claim to acceptance in the West: "Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam que inscribitur ad Hebreos non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis sed ab omnibus retro Ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli Apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur, et nihil interesse cujus sit, quum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectionum celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum quidem ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt,et tamen nos utrumque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent (quippe qui et gentilitium literarum raro utantur exemplis), sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis" (Ep. 129, ad Dardanum). The drift of this is that, notwithstanding the Latin use, the acceptance of the Epistle by the whole East, and its being quoted as canonical by the Greek Fathers, justifies its reception into the Canon, and that it ought to be so received. He adduces as a parallel case that of the Apocalypse, which had been regarded in the

East as was the Epistle to the Hebrews in the West; but both had been alike quoted by ancient writers as canonical and authoritative (not merely as they occasionally refer to apocryphal or even profane writings), and therefore he holds that both should be alike received. He expresses no opinion as to the author of the Epistle, considering the question of no importance as long as it was some one whose writings might claim a place in the sacred Canon. But his deciding distinctly for the Epistle's canonicity would deprive of its main interest the comparatively unimportant question of its authorship, and so it came to pass that the Eastern tradition was afterwards accepted generally.

That other great and influential theologian of the same age, St. Augustine (ob. 430), took and expressed a similar view of the Epistle, apparently not caring to question the Pauline authorship. In one passage, after laying down a rule to guide the reader in his estimate of canonical books, to the effect that such as are received by all Catholic Churches are to be preferred to those which some do not receive, and that of the latter those which "plures gravioresque ecclesiæ" receive are to be ranked above the rest,-he proceeds to reckon in the Canon fourteen Epistles of St. Paul (De doctrina Christiana, ii. 8). Elsewhere he speaks of being especially moved by the authority of the Eastern Churches ("magisque me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientaliam") to accept this epistle, "quanquam nonnullis incerta sit" (De peccatorum meritis et remissione, i. 27). In his De civitate Dei (xvi. 22) he also says of it, "Quâ teste usi sunt illustres Catholicæ regulæ defensores;" and in his works he often quotes it, though generally avoiding mention of St. Paul as the writer.

The Epistle having thus come at last to be fully received into the Western Canon along with the undoubted Epistles of St. Paul, it was afterwards, in the uncritical ages that followed, regarded without question as one of his. But with the revival of inquiry and independent thought at the beginning of the

sixteenth century, the old doubts, as was to be expected. revived also, being suggested by study of patristic literature, as well as by observation of the style of the Epistle itself. full account of the views expressed by the various leading theologians then and subsequently will be found in Alford's Prolegomena to the Epistle. In the Roman obedience Ludovicus .Vives, a Spanish theologian, and Cardinal Cajetan, appear among the early doubters; and, even after the Council of Trent had to a certain extent closed the question by requiring, under anathema, belief in the Pauline authorship, Bellarmine and Estius did not feel precluded from assigning the matter only, and not the language, to St. Paul. Erasmus was decided against St. Paul's authorship, and gave his reasons at length, founded both on ancient authority and on internal evidence. Like St. Jerome of old, he regarded the question as of little moment, and would not, he says, have written so much about it but for the outcry raised against every doubt of the received view, as if doubt were heresy. "If," says he, "the Church certainly defines it to be Paul's, I willingly render my intellect captive to the obedience of faith; but, as far as my own judgment is concerned, it does not seem to me to be his." The more decided Reformers, Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, the Magdeburg Centuriators, and at first Beza, were of the same opinion; Luther being memorable, not only for his decided view, but also for suggesting a new name, that of Apollos, as most likely, in his judgment, to have been the actual writer. Subsequently, among Protestants as well as Catholics, there was a growing tendency to acquiesce in the old traditional view, and even to make a point of it, notably so among our own divines, usually inclined to be conservative, and to shrink from disturbing accepted views. In comparatively recent times the question has been again opened among the German divines, the great majority of whom (Bengel, Storr, and Hofmann being exceptions) have been, and are still, decidedly against St. Paul having been the writer. Among ourselves, however, his direct

authorship has ever had and still has many defenders, the most recent being the commentator on the Epistle in the lately published Speaker's Commentary.

To sum up the several views that have been and may be held, with brief notice of the main reasons for or against each, we may state them thus:—

I. That St. Paul wrote the Epistle in Greek as it stands, This view rests really on the single ground of the old tradition in the East. But what does this amount to? All we know accurately is that at Alexandria, in the second century, the Epistle, being itself anonymous, had been handed down, and was generally received as one of St. Paul's, but that the learned there even then were not thereby convinced that he had actually written it; they were distinctly of opinion that at any rate the Greek was not his; and the greatest of them, Origen, did not think he had been in any sense the actual Why should we set more store by the tradition than did those competent persons who were in a better position for judging of its value? It may in any case without difficulty be accounted for. Received early, itself unnamed, with others bearing the apostle's name, representing and emanating from the same school of thought and teaching, actually written, if not by St. Paul, at any rate by one of his disciples or associates, the Epistle might easily come to be generally read and accepted, in the absence of any discriminative criticism, as, like the rest, St. Paul's. The tradition, then, is not valid evidence for more than this,-but for this it is valid, confirming the internal evidence as Origen perceived, - that the Epistle was in origin Pauline, though not of necessity St. Paul's.

The internal evidence of some other actual writer than St. Paul does not rest solely or principally on the number of words and expressions in the Epistle which are not found in St. Paul's acknowledged writings. Differences of this kind may be made too much of as proof of different authorship;

there are a considerable number of ἄπαξ λεγόμενα in some of St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, and especially in the Pastorals, which are the latest. The same writer may greatly vary his words and phrases in different works and at different times, in accordance with his train of thought, surrounding influences and associations, books lately read, or the subjects treated. Hence the lists that have been made of words or phrases common to this Epistle and St. Luke alone, or to this Epistle and St. Paul alone, or found in this Epistle and St. Paul's speeches as recorded by St. Luke, are not, whatever their value, important for the main argument, the essential point of which is that the whole Greek style of the Epistle is different from that of St. Paul's acknowledged writings, more classical in its idiom, as well as more finished and rhetorical; and also that the studied arrangement of the thoughts and arguments, the systematic plan of the whole work, is unlike the way of writing so characteristic of the great apostle. may, indeed, be said that when St. Paul set himself to the careful composition of a work which, though in epistolary form, was meant as a lasting treatise on a great subject. he would be likely to depart from his usual epistolary style, and that a man of his learning and versatile powers would, even humanly speaking, be capable of adopting both the language and the arrangement suitable to his purpose. This consideration would have decided weight in the way of explanation, if there were any really valid external evidence of his having been the actual writer. In the absence of such the internal evidence retains its force, to be felt by appreciative students rather than explained. If any at the present day are insensible to it, they may at any rate be reminded of the impression it has made on the great scholars and theologians of antiquity, as well as of more recent times. On the whole the right conclusion seems to be, that the view of St. Paul having written the Epistle as it stands in Greek is decidedly improbable, though still not quite untenable.

II. That the Greek Epistle is a translation from a Hebrew original by St. Paul.

This view, as has been already intimated, is certainly untenable. For not only are there in the Epistle essentially Greek phrases, such as could not well have been the mere equivalents of any Hebrew ones, but the whole has the unmistakeable ring, convincing to scholars, of an original composition, that of one who had both thought and expressed himself in the Greek language. Further, in the quotations from the Old Testament the Septuagint is almost uniformly followed, and this in cases where it varies from the Hebrew text; and sometimes such variations are followed up in such sort that the very argument depends upon them. Such use of the Septuagint seems quite incompatible with the idea of the Epistle having been written originally in Hebrew.

III. That St. Paul supplied the ideas of the Epistle, which another person, with his knowledge and sanction, put into their present form. This is a fully tenable view, being virtually that expressed, as has been seen, by Jerome. It is no valid objection to it that St. Paul's undoubted Epistles are not equally coloured by the modes of thought of the Alexandrian Jewish philosophy, of which Philo is the notable exponent. For they are occasionally so coloured, though not to the same extent. Cf. e.g. Gal. iv. 22, etc.; Col. i. 15, etc. And further, any stronger colour of this kind that may be perceptible in the Epistle might be due in part to the writer himself, carrying out in his own way the suggestions of St. Paul.

This view is consistent with the supposition that the Epistle was sent to its destination by the apostle himself, endorsed by him, and recognised from the first as having his authority. And thus the original Eastern tradition would be fully accounted for and justified. If so, it is also surely possible (though the idea does not appear to have commended itself to commentators) that the concluding verses, from xiii. 18 to the end, in which the first person is for the first time used, and which remind

us peculiarly of St. Paul, were dictated by himself in his own name, the final Grace at least being, as in other cases, his authenticating autograph. In this case the expression in ver. 22, "I have written unto you in few words," may refer only to what had thus been appended by himself.

IV. That the Epistle was written, independently of St. Paul, by some associate who was familiar with his teaching, and gave his own expression to it. This is Origen's view, and is also tenable. It does not, however, so fully account as that last given for the early tradition of the Epistle being St. Paul's. It may, if it were so, have been composed either during the apostle's life or shortly after his death; but, in the latter case, very shortly, as appears from internal evidence.

As to who the actual writer might be, it was not St. Paul;—four have been especially suggested, viz. Luke, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, and Apollos. It does not appear that any of these names had been handed down by tradition, or were ever more than conjectures on the ground of likelihood, though all, except Apollos, had, as we have seen, very early mention.

- 1. LUKE.—He seems to have been thought of by Clement of Alexandria and others because of the purer Greek of the Epistle resembling his, and its containing words and phrases which are peculiar elsewhere to his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; and also, we may suppose, because of his close association with St. Paul as his companion, and the tradition of his Gospel having been written under St. Paul's direction. These are good grounds for the conjecture; but still, as far as we know, it was conjecture only.
- 2. CLEMENT OF ROME.—He, as we have seen, was thought of in early days, being named by Origen as being, as well as St. Luke, one of the then reputed writers. If there was at that time good reason to believe that the Epistle had been sent from Rome, the name of Clement might naturally suggest itself as of one who had been associated with the apostle during his

last residence there, and who was ruler of the Roman Church immediately, or soon after his martyrdom. Still more, if he was the same Clement as is mentioned by St. Paul, Phil. iv. 3. Further, the occurrence in Clement's undoubted Epistle to the Corinthians of both ideas and language taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, appears to have confirmed the supposi-This last circumstance led Eusebius (a Hebrew original being supposed) to think him more likely than St. Luke to have been the translator: "Some say that Luke the Evangelist, and others that this same Clement translated the writing; which may be rather true, since the Epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews preserve the same style of diction, and the thoughts in the two compositions are not far apart" (H. E. iii. 36). So also Euthalius (c. 460), purporting to give the favourite view: "For (the Epistle) having been written to the Hebrews in their own language, is said to have been afterwards translated, according to some by Luke, but according to the majority by Clement; for it preserves his style" (chap. ii.). But the theory of the Greek Epistle being a mere translation being abandoned, the style of Clement certainly does not really suggest him as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. All that appears is that he was acquainted with it, and cited it, and introduced some of its thoughts and language; but his own writing exhibits nothing of that powerful grasp, close reasoning, systematic arrangement. and eloquence of expression, which marks the Epistle. Further, if he had been the writer, some tradition to that effect might have been expected to linger in the Roman Church. But that Church seems hardly to have known anything about the Epistle in the age after him, and, as we have seen, long hesitated about even receiving it at all.

3. Barnabas.—As a Levite, and hence likely to be well versed in Jewish ritual,—as St. Paul's original associate, and with him from the first opposed to the exclusive Judaists,—as "a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," and

with an effectual power of exhortation (Acts xi. 23, 24),—he may, for aught we know, have been a fit and capable person to be inspired for the writing of such an Epistle as this is. Nor does the breach at one time between him and St. Paul (Acts xv.), or his temporary vacillation at Antioch (Gal. ii. 13), preclude his having become again the associate of the great apostle, and the exponent of his teaching. We have, however, no knowledge of this, or of St. Barnabas' style and natural powers as a writer, none of his genuine utterances. written or spoken, being on record. Thus the only real ground for the supposition of Barnabas is the assertion of Tertullian, which is certainly remarkable as being made positively, and not as a conjecture only. It would carry more weight than it does, did we know that he had any real ground for it except his own opinion or that of others in his day, or if writers after him had seemed to attach importance to it.

4. APOLLOS.—First suggested by Luther, and since taken up with considerable confidence by many. This is certainly a very tempting hypothesis; the main, and this very serious, objection to it being, that none of the ancients seem to have thought of him at all. Apollos is described (Acts xviii. 24) as "a Jew, an Alexandrian by race, an eloquent man" (λόγιος: which may mean either "eloquent" or "learned"-either meaning suits the writer of the Epistle), "and mighty in the Scriptures," and one who "mightily convinced the Jews, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." Every word here is applicable to such a man as the writer seems to have been. Further, the relation of Apollos and his teaching to St. Paul and his teaching, as alluded to by St. Paul himself, corresponds to the relation of this Epistle to St. Paul's undoubted ones. appears, from the first three chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, that the party at Corinth which called itself that of Apollos depreciated St. Paul's preaching in comparison with his, as being too simple and rude, and deficient in "the wisdom of this world"; and yet it is evident from what St. Paul says

that the teaching of Apollos, though different in form, was essentially the same as his:—"I planted, Apollos watered." What is thus said of the preaching of Apollos in relation to the preaching of St. Paul, is just what might be said of the Epistle to the Hebrews in relation to the Epistles which we know to have been written by St. Paul. Such are the very plausible reasons for assigning the epistle to Apollos. But, on the other hand, the fact that none of the ancients, who may be supposed to have known more of the probabilities than we do, seem even to have named him, remains a strong argument against a view which Luther was the first to broach.

On the whole, with regard to the actual author of the language and arrangement of our Epistle (while we may accept it without hesitation as an essentially Pauline one, and rightly accepted as canonical), more or less probable conjecture is all we have to go on, so that we can but fall back on the words of Origen, "the truth God knows."

J. BARMBY.

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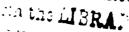
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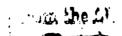
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—JOHN BUNYAN.

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A.

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THE MONTHLY INTERPRETER.

Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A., Vicar of Dartmouth.

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Continued on page 3.

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